SUFISM IN INDONESIA: AN ANALYSIS OF NAWAWĪ AL-BANTENI'S SALĀLIM AL-FUḌALĀ'

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Abstract

Title : SUFISM IN INDONESIA: AN ANALYSIS OF NAWAWĪ AL-BANTENĪ'S SALĀLIM AL-FUḌALĀ'

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This thesis is an attempt to understand the views of Nawawī al-Bantenī on the subject of Sufism, especially as they appear in his work *Salālim al-Fuḍalā'*, a commentary on the *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā' ilā Ṭarīq al-Awliyā'* of Zayn al-Dīn al-Malībarī.

By observing the existence and the development of Sufism in Indonesia and the career of Nawawī al-Bantenī, the thesis tries to achieve a better understanding of his contribution in the field. Earlier studies have tended to discuss him and his works in general, whereas this study concentrates more specifically on al-Bantenī's Sufi thought through his comments on the subject.

Another question that is raised is that of Nawawī al-Bantenī's originality in his commentary on the *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā'* of al-Malībarī. Finally, the important point is made that Nawawī does not seem to have been influenced by either heterodox or pre-Islamic concepts, which were relatively powerful in Indonesia of his day. On the other hand he had a great influence on the people of his country, especially in his home town Banten, in terms of the development of both nationalism and Islamic education in Indonesia.

Résumé

Titre : Soufisme en Indonésie: une analyse du *Salālim al-fuḍalā'* de Nawawī al-Bantenī

Auteur : Sri Mulyati

Département : Institut des études islamiques

Diplôme : Maîtrise ès Arts

Cette thèse cherche à comprendre les propos de Nawawī al-Bantenī sur le soufisme, et plus particulièrement, ceux exposés dans son *Salālim al-fuḍalā'*, un commentaire du *Hidāyat al-adhkiyā' ilā ṭarīq al-awliyā'* de Zayn al-Dīn al-Malībarī.

Cette thèse, en s'attardant sur l'existence et le développement du soufisme en Indonésie, de même que sur la carrière de Nawawī al-Bantenī, essaye d'arriver à une plus grande compréhension de la contribution apportée par l'auteur dans le domaine du soufisme. Les études antérieures faites sur cet auteur se limitaient à des généralités sur l'homme, de même que sur son oeuvre. Par contre, cette étude, par le biais de l'utilisation de ses commentaires sur le soufisme, est centrée plus spécifiquement sur cet aspect de la pensée d'Nawawī.

Il sera aussi question de l'originalité du commentaire de Nawawī al-Bantenī du *Hidāyat al-adhkiyā'* d'al-Malībarī. En dernier lieu, un autre aspect important à soulever est l'absence d'influences de concepts hétérodoxes, ou pré-islamiques, dans l'oeuvre d'al-Bantenī: des influences qui étaient pourtant relativement puissantes en Indonésie à cette époque. D'autre part, il exerça une influence importante, surtout dans sa ville natale de Banten, en développant un nationalisme tout autant qu'une éducation islamique en Indonésie.

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Montreal, September 1992 Sri Mulyati.

Technicalities

The transliteration system used in this thesis, except in a few cases as indicated below, follows the system of the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University . However, we include Arabic transliteration in Indonesian usage as well. Dates are given according to both calendars, Islamic and Christian. Books and articles cited frequently in the footnotes are given with the full title only in the first reference of each chapter and in general, are mentioned in short form afterwards. Arabic and other foreign words, as well as titles of books that are not mentioned in references have been italicized.

Consonants ء initial:unexpressed ء medial and final: '

Arabic	Persian	Indonesian	Arabic	Persian	Indonesian
ب b	b	b	ض ḍ	ḍ	dl
ت t	t	t	ط ṭ	ṭ	th
ث th	th	ts	ظ ẓ	ẓ	dz
ج j	j	j	ع ᶜ	ᶜ	ᶜ
چ -	ch	-	غ gh	gh	gh
ح ḥ	ḥ	h	ف f	f	f
خ kh	kh	kh or ch	ق q	q	q
د d	d	d	ك k	k	k
ذ dh	z	dh	گ -	g	-
ر r	r	r	ل l	l	l
ز z	z	z	م m	m	m
ژ -	zh	-	ن n	n	n
س s	s	s	ه h	h	h
ش sh	sh	sy	و w	w	w
ص ṣ	ṣ	sh	ي y	y	y

Diphtongs: يَ ay; وَ aw   Exception: *ta'marbūṭa*: ـة a (not ah); at in *iḍāfa*.

short with *tashdīd*: ـيّ iyya

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Introduction

The history of Sufism in Indonesia is parallel to the history of Islam in that country. There could be no Sufism without Islam. According to William Stoddard, one cannot be a Sufi without being a Muslim any more than one can be a Benedictine without being a Christian.[1] Islam entered the Indonesian Archipelago at a time when indigenous beliefs were relatively dominant and Hinduism and Buddhism were already well-established there.

Both of these latter two religions had enjoyed success in many parts of the country because they incorporated and adapted to the native customs. Islam for its part was easily accepted. It is a fact that indigenous religious practices and Hindu influence continued after Islam came to the region. Taking over where Buddhism had left off, however, *taṣawwuf* was able to make a considerable impact on the Indonesians, and in the early period the Muslim mystics were highly regarded and honored.

In the first chapter of this thesis we observe that in north Sumatra and Acheh, in the last half of the sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth centuries, the most highly respected religious scholars were Sufis and that religion assumed a significant role in community affairs and in the private lives of individuals. In Java, the method of spreading Islam which was used by the nine saints lead to both positive and negative results. Positively Islam was easily accepted and took root among ordinary people, at the same time however, the native element appears to have surfaced and synthesized, becoming *kebatinan*.[2]

By observing the literature on different aspects of Islamic teachings which have been studied and written by Indonesians since the arrival of Islam in Indonesia, we will be able to see how the religion developed, especially the aspect of Sufism. The coming of Sufi

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[1] William Stoddart. Sufism (New York: Paragon House Publisher, 1986), 19.

[2] See chapter 1 of this thesis pp. 10-11.

orders into the country helped the development of the religious life of the Indonesian people, allowing it to flourish until the end of the nineteenth century.

In chapter two we observe the life and educational background of an important Indonesian Sufi, Nawawī al-Bantenī and discuss the classification of his works. In presenting his biography, in addition to secondary sources, we will refer to primary sources including manuscripts[3] of Nawawī's own works, information given by someone who personally met him[4] and my interview with one of his descendants.[5] We also list Nawawī's works mentioned by other Indonesian and foreign scholars, and present the information that shows his influence on Islamic education in Southeast Asia.

Chapter three deals with mystical aspects of Nawawī's thought on the basis of his work *Salālim al-Fuḍalā'*, a commentary on the poem of Zayn al-Dīn al-Malībarī, *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā'*. We feel it is necessary to present first a summary of this poem, partly on the advice of the poet himself, who says that "understanding one line from the original text is better than understanding ten lines of the explanation."[6] The chapter then proceeds to discuss Nawawī's commentary on the poem under two headings: Nawawī's approach to his sources; and selected themes from *Salālim al-Fuḍalā'* such as the concept of Sufism; practical ways to the path of the friends of God (nine recommendations); and *dhikr*. Comparing *Salālim al-Fuḍalā'* to Nawawī's other work on Sufism (according to the classification of his works made by Brockelmann[7]), entitled *Qāmiᶜ al-Ṭughyān*, a

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[3]We have photocopies of three manuscripts of Nawawī's works entitled *Shurūt al-Iqtidā'*, *Qalā'id al-Mubtadi'īn* and *Taḥrīr al-ᶜAsīr*.

[4]C. Snouck Hurgronje statement in his work Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), 270.

[5]K. H. Maᶜruf Amin is one of Nawawī's descendants, who preserves the manuscripts and from whom I received permission to make a photocopy of the manuscripts in Jakarta, August 14, 1991.

[6]Zayn al-Dīn Al-Malībarī. Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā' ilā Ṭarīq al-Awliyā', verse 139 (Indonesia: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-ᶜArabiyya), 85.

[7]M. Houtsma, eds. The Encyclopaedia of Islam. (leiden: E. J. Brill, 1938), s.v. "Al-Nawawī," by C. Brockelmann. Another Sufi work of Nawawī entitled *Miṣbāḥ al-Ẓulam* is not available to us. In fact

commentary on *Shu^c^ab al-Īmān* by the same Malībarī, we find that *Salālim al-Fuḍalā'* is more a work in the area of Sufism, while the former places more emphasis on religious ethics.[8] In terms of the date of the composition of *Salālim*, we find that it was written before another commentary, al-Dimyāṭī's *Kifāyat al-Atqiyā'*, though Nawawī may have had access, like al-Dimyāṭī, to the *Maslak al-Atqiyā' wa Minhaj al-Aṣfiyā'* of ^c^Abd al-^c^Azīz (the poet's own son).[9] Further research needs to be done to find clarity about the originality of Nawawī's commentary since we do not have the first commentary. Yet, we may deduce a general view of Nawawī's positive attitude towards Sufism through his analysis in *Salālim al-Fuḍalā'*. Finally, we end chapter three by drawing a brief conclusion concerning Nawawī's own mystical thought.

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the classification made by Brockelmann is not fully correct, since we find in many other of Nawawī's works discussions of Sufi's themes i. e. *Naṣā'iḥ al-^c^Ibād, Tanqīḥ al-Qawl al-Ḥathīth* etc.

[8]Nawawī al-Bantenī. Qāmi^c^ al-Tughyān. (Semarang: Usaha Keluarga), 3. This work deals with 77 branches of *Īmān*. See chapter 3 of this thesis p. 52.

[9]Further discussion on this matter see chapter 3 of this thesis pp. 56-57.

Chapter I

Sufism in Indonesia: Precursors to Nawawī al-Bantenī.

A. Sufism and its development in Indonesia.

Sufism in Indonesia cannot be dealt with in isolation from the history of Islam in that country, and yet there is no agreement among scholars about the exact time of the advent of Islam to Indonesia and the particular area of the country which was first Islamized.[1] According to Marco Polo, who spent five months on the north coast of Sumatra in 1292, Islam had already been established there.[2] Likewise Ibn Battuta discovered that there had already long been an Islamic Kingdom in Samudra (Acheh) when he arrived in 1346.[3] At that time he found the prince al-Malik al-Ẓāhir allowing foreign Muslims to attend at court, and "the sultan enjoying lively discussions on points of Islamic law with a small cadre of legal scholars..." [4].

According to Schrieke, "Ibn Battuta also recorded the presence at the court of Pasai of several Persian scholars, who discussed questions of religion and doctrine with the ruler." [5] Furthermore, according to Ismāʿīl Ḥamīd, "Pasai developed into a centre of Islamic studies

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[1]Thomas Walker Arnold, The Preaching of Islam, A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith (Lahore: Ashraf Printing Press, 1979), 364. Chinese sources mention that the establishment of Arab and perhaps other Muslim settlements on the west coast of Sumatra as early as 54 A. H. /674 A. D. See also S. Q. Fatimi, Islam Comes to Malaysia (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963), 38. The oldest evidence of the presence of Islam in Java is dated 1082 A.D. on a gravestone of Fāṭima at Leran, East Java.

[2]Denys Lombard,"Les tarékat en Insulinde, " in Les Ordres Mystiques dans l' Islam, ed. by A. Popovic & G. Veinstein (Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1986), 140. See also Nugroho Notosusanto and Marwati Djoened Poesponegoro, Departemen Pendidikan & Kebudayaan R. I. Sejarah Nasional Indonesia III Zaman Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangan Kerajaan-Kerajaan Islam di Indonesia, ed. Uka Candra Sasmita (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1990), 3.

[3]Ross E. Dunn, The Adventures of Ibn Battuta: A Muslim Traveller of the 14th Century (California: California University Press, 1989), 257.

[4]Ibid., 257.

[5]B. J. O. Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies , part two (The Hague and Bandung: M. van Hoeve, 1957), 239.

and also became the meeting place of Islamic scholars from the Islamic world, such as Qāḍī Amir Sayyid from Shīrāz, Tāj al-Dīn from Isfahān and Amir Dawlasa from the Sultanate of Delhi, India." [6]

More specifically, in the *Sejarah Melayu* (Malay Annals) there is found the earliest mention of the existence of a *ṭarīqa* during the time of sultan Mansur Shah (1456 - 1477). The sultan of Malaka sent a delegation to Pasai to meet a Sufi master (*makhdūm*) there to ask whether there might be a way for those who are destined for hell to improve their situation .[7]

There were at least two kinds of influences which attracted Malay rulers to see themselves as Muslim sultans: the Persian-influenced notion of kingship, and Sufism.[8]The particular mystical doctrine which appears to have caught the attention of the Malay Rajas during the early period of Islamization was the doctrine of the "Perfect Man",[9] the saintly

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[6]Ismāᶜīl Ḥamid,"The Earliest Centers of Islamic Studies in the Malay World." in Hamdard Islamicus, vol.9 No 1 (1986): 74. See also T. W. Arnold, The Preaching of Islam, 368. Arnold does not mention the names of the scholars.

[7]Denys Lombard, Les tarékat, 140. Schrieke also mentions that on the authority of Ibn Battuta we know that as early as 1346 the sultan of Pasai found pleasure in discussing religious and mystical questions with the Persian Muslim scholars at the court. Schrieke, Indonesian, part two 261 - 262. See also A. C. Milner. "Islam and Malay Kingship", in Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia, compiled by Aḥmad Ibrahim, Sharon Siddique and Yasmin Hussain (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985), 28 - 29. See also G. W. J. Drewes, "New Light on the Coming of Islam to Indonesia", in Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia, 11. Drewes also mentions that the Shāfiᶜī school of law had been followed by the Muslims in these areas.

[8]A. C. Milner, "Islam and Malay Kingship," in Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia, 28. See also Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, Marmūzāt-i Asadī dar Mazmūrāt-i Dāwūdī, ed., M. R. Shafīᶜī Kadkanī with an English introduction by Hermann A. Landolt (Tehran: Tehran University Press, 1974), 56-57. The kings are told as suggested by the Qur'ān that there are three biddings and three forbidden things with respect to themselves, the subjects and God. (16:92). The king should perform his three obligations in the following order, first towards himself (his own essence qua King- page 5 in English introduction) (*pādishāhi-i khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ),* second towards his family (*pādishāhi-i khāṣṣ*) and the third towards his society (*pādishāhi-i ᶜāmm*). The king could not govern his society unless he has been succesful in performing the first two obligations.

[9]A. C. Milner, Islam and Malay Kingship, 28. H. Landolt in the introduction to Marmūzāt, page 5, suggests that "the Platonic ideal King is identified with the"Sufi Perfect Man"... the king should receive both, moral advice and a real Sufi education."

figure who has "fully realized his essential oneness with the Divine being" [10] and who, boddhisattva-like, guides his disciples along the path he had trodden. This emerges gradually from the records of the fifteenth and sixteenth century Malay world.[11]

One source relates that when an Indian yogi, skilled in magic arts, came one day into the sultan's presence and performed miraculous tricks, the yogi, overawed by the sanctity or *karāma* of the sultan, fell to the ground.[12] Contests in the performance of miracles, such as that occuring between the Pasai ruler and the yogi, were commonplace among Sufis.[13]

After the decline of Pasai, Malaka gradually became the new Islamic centre.[14] According to Winstedt, the Muslim students at Malaka, especially those from Java, began to study the Islamic religious sciences, for example, *ᶜIlm al-ḥadīth*, *ᶜIlm al-kalām*, *taṣawwuf* and *sharīᶜa*, while basing themselves on the following text books: *Iḥyā' ᶜUlūm al-Dīn* by al-Ghazālī, *Kitāb al-Tamhīd* by Abū al-Shukūr and *Talkhīs al-Minhaj* by Imām al-Nawawī, etc.[15]

A. H. Johns writes: "Islam did not take root in Indonesia until the rise of the Sufi orders, and that the quickening tempo of the development of Indonesian Islam subsequent to the thirteenth century was in the main, due to the labours of the Sufi

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[10]R. A. Nicholson, Studies in Islamic Mysticism (London: Cambridge University Press, 1921), 78.

[11]A. C. Milner, Islam and Malay Kingship, 29-30.

[12]A. H. Hill, "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai," Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 33 (1960): 74.

[13]A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions of Islam (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 211.

[14]R. O. Winstedt, A History of Classical Malay Literature (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1972), 84.

[15]R. O. Winstedt, The Malays, A Cultural History (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1961), 35.

missionaries."[16]Osman bin Bakar states: "The Sufi factor appears to be the most plausible explanation ... because it accords with the general religious and spiritual climate prevailing in the Muslim world after the seventh/thirteenth century."[17] By the eighteenth century, membership in a mystical order was practically synonymous with the profession of Islam."[18]

Lombard cites the Hikayat Hasanuddin as mentioning that the *Naqshabandiyya*, the *Shaṭṭāriyya* and the *Shādhiliyya* orders, as well as Islam itself, arrived in west Java in the sixteenth century (especially to the Banten area whence Nawawī came). Sunan Gunung Jati (one of the nine saints) who founded Banten and Islamized the Sundanese was originally from Pasai. In that period many Javanese obtained their religious education in Pasai and in Malaka. [19]

A clearer proof of the existence of *ṭarīqas* may be seen during the time of Ḥamza Fanṣūrī (d. 1600). In his poetry he mentions the name of the founder of the *ṭarīqa Qādiriya:*

Ḥamza nin asalnya Fanṣūrī
Mendapat wujud di tanah Syahr Nawi
Beroleh khilafat yang *ᶜālī*
Daripada ᶜAbdul Qādir Sayyid Jīlānī.

In another passage he indicates that the initiation took place in Baghdad:

Syaikh al-Fanṣūrī terlalu *ᶜālī*
Beroleh khilafat di benua Baghdadi

And in a third passage he indicates the name of the founder:

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[16]A. H. Johns, "Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History, " Journal of South East Asian History vol. 2 no 2 (1961): 23.

[17]Osman bin Bakar, Sufism, 262.

[18]A.H. Johns, Sufism, 14. See also A.H. Johns, "The Role of Sufism in the Spread of Islam to Malaya and Indonesia," Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society. vol. 9, part 1 (1961): 146.

[19]Denys Lombard, Les tarékat, 140. See also Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies, part two, 261 - 262.

Ḥamza nin ilmunya ẓāhir
Ustadhnya Shaykh ʿAbdul Qādir.[20]

Between the years 1637 - 1644 there was a great theological debate between followers of radical Sufism and the more orthodox Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī (originally from Rander in Gujarat). After this time the *ṭarīqas* made important progress. Several mainstream Sufi orders established themselves in Indonesia during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The introduction of new orders was often linked to the personality of the master whose memory has in many cases been preserved until today.[21] This process will be discussed below in more detail.

During the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the major Sufi movements in Africa and Asia were often connected with mainstream Islamic movements. The Sufis have often led the reform movements and directed opposition against oppression and foreign or colonial domination. For example the *Naqshabandī* Sufis and Shah Waliyullāh challenged the British colonial power in India. This was true as well in Indonesia. The fact is that they were deeply involved in political movements. For example those who participated in the peasants' revolt in Banten in 1888, were mostly members of the *Qādiriyya* order.[22] Another example is the Achehnese war against the Dutch in the late nineteenth century, which showed evidence of Sanusi inspiration, as well as the *Naqshabandī* movement in West Sumatra.[23] In A. H. Johns' view, one important

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[20]Syed Muḥammad Naguib al-Attas, The Mysticism of Hamza Fanṣūrī, (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1970), 11. These selections are also quoted by Denys Lombard. Les tarékat, 140 - 141.

[21]Denys Lombard, Les tarékat, 141.

[22]Karel A. Steenbrink, Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad 19 (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984), 175.

[23]A. H. Johns, "Ṭarīqa" in The Encyclopedia of Religion.Vol. 14 ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987).

characteristic of the *da'wa* methods employed by the Sufis in Java at that time was the use of familiar media such as the *wayangs* (Indonesian shadow-play theatres), through which, the common people could relate new doctrines to the experience of their philosophical-mystical world. [24]

Osman bin Bakar states that "another characteristic which is known to have attracted conversions was the Sufis' possession of certain spiritual powers, as manifested, for example, in the healing of the sick. The Malays have termed these supernatural powers *keramat* (in Arabic *karāma*)." [25] According to A. H. Johns an Islam of the *Wahhābī* type would have made little impact on a land such as Java.[26]

Sufi scholars were not the only ones who played a role in Islamizing the Malay Archipelago, A. H. Johns states:

> It is not usual to think of sailors or merchants as bearers of religion. If, however, we think of traders belonging to Sufi trade guilds, accompanied by their Shaykhs, there seems a more plausible basis for the spread of Islam. This puts the importance of the *ṭarīqas* in a new light. The fact that there were *ṭarīqas* in Indonesia has often been noted. As far as I know their paramount importance has not. At all events, their interpretation of Islam was certainly suited to the background of the Indonesians, and it should not be going too far

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[24]A. H. Johns, Sufism as a Category, 22. See also H. J. De Graaf and Th. Pigeaud, Kerajaan-Kerajaan Islam di Jawa, Kajian Sejarah Politik Abad ke 15 dan ke 16, vol. 2 (Indonesian translation of De Eerste Moslimse Vorstendommen op Java, Studien over de Staatkundige Geschiedenis van de 15de en 16de Eeuw) (Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1989), 81-82. The authors mention specific names of the nine saints such as Sunan Kalijaga, Sunan Kudus, and Sunan Giri, but they say that the use of *wayang* by the wali still needs to be proved; however, they realize that there is a relationship between wali and *wayang* and admit that there are Islamic mystical songs in Islamic Javanese literature which were used by the saints in spreading Islam. See also Clifford Geertz, Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia (New Haven:Yale University Press, 1968), 25, 27. He mentions that "Sunan Kalijaga among the nine apostles, traditionally considered to have introduced Islam into Java, ... he was an historical personage and as an extremely vivid figure in the popular mind-one of a long series of 'culture renewers'..." but Geertz also admits that there is some doubt on the part of scholars as to their existence.

[25]Osman bin Bakar, "Sufism in the Malay-Indonesian-World," in Islamic Spirituality: Manifestations , ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr (New York: The Cross road Publishing Company, 1991), 270.

[26]A. H. Johns, Sufism as a Category, 19. See also Mohd. Taib Osman, "Islamization of the Malays: A Transformation of Culture." In Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia, 44.

> to say that the conversion of Indonesia to Islam was very largely the work of the *ṭarīqas* even though they are ungratefully spurned at the present day.[27]

Johns also point out the fact that it is characteristic of Sufism to accept non-Islamic elements as long as they do not contradict the Qur'ānic revelation. He furnishes as examples the use of the Sanskrit phrase *Dewata Mulia Raja* instead of the Arabic word *Allāh Taʿāla* in the Trengganu inscription and the use of various Sufi interpretations in the *wayang*.[28]

Osman bin Bakar remarks that in spite of the positive influences of the Sufi orders in Java, the existence of various types of mysticism caused by misinterpretations of Sufism and its practice created much tension between mysticism and the exoteric religious authorities. He cites as an example the case of the execution of Siti Jenar...[29]

Javanese legend tells the story of Shaykh Siti Jenar, whose situation was similar to that of al-Ḥallāj. He was assassinated because, as Saifuddin Zuhrī states, it was feared that there would be great danger for ordinary Muslims of being led astray if they tried to understand the teachings of Shaykh Siti Jenar literally. The result would be twofold: first by obeying these teachings without knowledge they would be blindly obedient, and second those who did not understand would react badly to the personality of the Shaykh.[30] I do not believe that the punishment of assassination was given because of the teaching itself but rather out of consideration for the safety of the *ʿawāmm* (ordinary Muslim believers).

According to Osman bin Bakar: "there were other spiritual manifestations in Indonesian Islam emanating not from Sufism but from the 'native source.' This latter was the ancient

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[27]A. H. Johns, "Muslim Mystics and Historical Writing." In Historians of South East Asia ed. by D. G. E. Hall (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 40 - 41.

[28]A. H. Johns, Sufism, as a Category, 19.

[29]Osman bin Bakar, Sufism, 281.

[30]K. H. Saifuddin Zuhrī, Sejarah Kebangkitan Islam dan Perkembangannya di Indonesia (Bandung: al-Maʿārif, 1981), 290.

pre-Islamic (even pre-Hindu and pre-Buddhist) Javanese mysticism, whose core is the concept of the essential oneness of all existence and the servant's mystical union with the Divine, expressed in Javanese as *manunggal kawula Gusti*" [31], which Rasyidi calls mystical union.[32]

However, Van Bruinessen notes that *aliran kebatinan* although not recognized as Muslim, often show strong Islamic influences in terminology and beliefs as well as in practices, [33] while there are no such Hindu or Buddhist terms which can be found in the Indonesian Sufi tradition. Van Bruinessen further indicates that in certain places the *ṭarīqa* has been "indonesianized", sometimes beyond recognition.[34] The *aliran kebatinan* tend to use Islamic terms in trying to clarify their concepts. Rasyidi indicates that some Islamic terms they use are really misleading, as well as the words borrowed from Hinduism and Buddhism.[35]

The process of adaptation of Javanese mystical elements upon Islam's arrival in Java, according to Osman bin Bakar was that those elements at first remained outside of Sufism, but with the decline of Sufism, in contemporary Indonesia have reasserted themselves against exoteric Islamic orthodoxy and now manifest themselves into *aliran kebatinan* (mystical sects)." [36] Osman bin Bakar goes on to state: "Among the most prominent of

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[31]Osman bin Bakar, Sufism, 281.

[32]H. M. Rasyidi, Islam dan Kebatinan (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1987), 68.

[33]Martin van Bruinessen, "The Origin and Development of the Naqshabandi order in Indonesia" Der Islam. Band 67 Heft 1, (1990): 179.

[34]Ibid., 179.

[35]Rasyidi, Aliran Kebatinan, 13, 17, 37, 49. Rasyidi gives examples from Kitab Darmogandul and Hidayat Jati.

[36]Osman bin Bakar, Sufism, 281-282. See also Niels Mulder, Mysticism and Everyday Life in Contemporary Java (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1978), 2. See also Rasyidi, Islam dan Kebatinan, 54. Ricklefs notes that Javanese Islam in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was almost certainly mystical in its theological content, a natural development given the predominantly mystical thrust of previous religions in Java. Although there are documentary problems concerning

aliran kebatinan are the *Pagujuban Ngesti Tunggal,* which is better known by its abbreviation, *Pangestu,* and which is also known to have an intellectual bent, and the *Susila Budi Dharma* (abbreviated as *Subud*), which is the most internationally known, having disciples scattered all over the world, particularly in Europe."[37]

Ricklefs says that:

> The issues of orthodoxy and heresy which were important in some other areas of Indonesia, such as seventeenth-century Acheh, seem not to have had much importance in Java. If one had wished to seek orthodox Islamic mysticism in seventeenth or eighteenth century Java, one would have been most likely to have found it on the coast. But if one had sought an austere, exclusive, puritanical orthodoxy, one would probably have found few adherents anywhere. The old culture grew and lived on in a more or less Islamic garb. For much of the populace of central Java, the Goddess of the Southern Ocean undoubtedly was the most important spiritual force in their lives, as she is still today. Javanese Muslims probably had little doubt that their faith was true and correct. The idea that many of them were "bad Muslims" would not have occurred to them. If some visitor or teacher told them their neglect of daily prayer or other formal transgressions required reform, they would probably have taken the view that each finds his own way to God. The tradition of religious tolerance in Java made any serious doctrinal conflict unlikely.[38]

Geertz writes that because "Islam came to Indonesia from India and was brought by merchants, its mid-Eastern sense for the external conditions of life has been blunted and turned inward by Indian mysticism. It provided but a minimal contrast to the melange of Hinduism, Buddhism and Animism which had held the Indonesians enthralled for almost fifteen centuries. Although it spread peacefully... Indonesian Islam, was cut off from its centers of orthodoxy at Mecca and Cairo..." [39]

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the first century of Islam, certainly by the sixteenth century (and probably earlier) sufi teachings had been known in Java. M. C. Ricklefs, " Islamization in Java" in Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia, 39.

[37]Osman bin Bakar, Sufism, 282.

[38]M. C. Ricklefs, "Islamization in Java" in Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia, 41.

[39]Clifford Geertz, The Religion of Java (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), 124-125.

Hodgson rightly criticizes Geertz for the fact that although he succeeds in collecting anthropological data about Javanese society, he is mistaken when he seems not to pay attention to Islamic elements in Indonesian culture. Hodgson mentions three errors on Geertz's part:

> When he refers to the archipelago having long been cut off from the centres of orthodoxy at Mecca and Cairo, the irrelevant inclusion of Cairo betrays a modern source of Geertz' bias. We must suspect also the urge of many colonialists to minimize their subjects' ties with a disturbingly world-wide Islam; and finally his anthropological techniques of investigation, looking for a functional analysis of a culture in momentary cross-section without serious regard to the historical dimension.[40]

Hodgson concludes that there is Hindu influence in Java but that Islam has already won the field.

Geertz notes that there is a functional historical relationship between market and mosque, and that in the history of the advent of Islam, the preachers performed the *daᶜwa* in the mosque while they engaged in trade in the market-place. "It was around this market network that the social institutions of Islam grew up in Indonesia." [41] According to Nakamura this thesis cannot be applied throughout Java or even in Indonesia as a whole because he found in his field research in Yogyakarta that economic power was dominated by the non-santri group.[42]

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[40]Marshall G. S. Hodgson, The Venture of Islam vol. 2 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 551.

[41]Clifford Geertz, Islam Observed, 42.

[42]Mitsuo Nakamura, The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree: A Study of the Muhammadiya Movement in a Central Javanese Town (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1983), 11-15.

Another view is offered by Snouck Hurgronje, who says that Indonesians "render in a purely formal manner due homage to the institutions ordained by Allāh, which are everywhere as sincerely received in theory as they are ill-observed in practice."[43]

According to Geertz:

> Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, the isolation of Indonesian Islam from its Mid-Eastern fountainhead began to break down. From the Hadramawt, that barren ground of Muslim medievalism at the southern tip of the Arabian peninsula, came Arab traders in ever increasing numbers to settle in Indonesia and transmit their fine sense for orthodoxy to the local merchants with whom they dealt. With the growth of sea travel, Indonesians began to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca in such numbers that by the time Snouck Hurgronje lived there in the 1880's the Indonesian colony was the largest and most active in the entire city.[44]

Wilfred Cantwell Smith comments that in the case of Indonesian Islam, "there has been a very serious disregard, both by western students and by Muslims of other areas, of the fact that here is Islamically something distinctive and fascinating and potentially very rich."[45] He continues: "it would seem that the Indonesians, especially in Java, are the only Muslim group in the world today who have a strong and ancient indigenous liberalism."[46]

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[43]C. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol. 2 (Leiden: 1906), 280. He also noted that " The indigenous customs which control the lives of the Bedawins of Arabia, the Egyptians, the Syrians or the Turks, are for the most part different from those of the Javanese, Malays and Achehnese, but the relation of these (customs) to the law of Islam, and the tenacity with which they maintain themselves in despite of that law, is everywhere the same. The customary law of the Arabs and... of the Turks differ from the written and unwritten (customary law) of our Indonesians, but they are equally far removed from the revealed law, altough they are equally loud in their recognition of the divine origin of the latter."

[44]Geertz, The Religion of Java, 125.

[45]Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Islam in Modern History (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 295.

[46]Ibid., 295. He states in addition: "there could be an argument, over against the widespread view that Indonesians are 'poor Muslims', that on the contrary the rest of the Muslim world may well have something vital to learn from them, even religiously. Surely it will have to be increasingly recognized that the Indonesians constitute one of the cardinal communities of the Muslim world, ranking along with the Indo-Muslim, the Pakistani, the Persian and Turkey and the Arab world. These six are the principal cultures that are the protagonists of contemporary Islam."

B. The Sufi Orders in Indonesia.

According to Trimingham the spread of the orders in the Malay Peninsula, mainly in the nineteenth century, came about through the medium of the pilgrimage. In Indonesia too, "the pilgrimage was the means through which the Sufi way penetrated. The first documentary evidence appears in the sixteenth century in the form of mystical poetry and other writings. In Sumatra, early mystics were Ḥamza Fanṣūrī (d. 1600) and his disciple, Shams al-Dīn Pasai (d. 1630). ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf Singkel introduced the *Shaṭṭāriyya* into Acheh in 1679, not from India as might have been expected, but from Mekka where he was initiated by Aḥmad Qushasī, and came to be honoured as the regional saint. Other members of the *Shaṭṭāriyya* established the order in Minangkabau and probably in west Java at about this time as well. Later, contact with Hadramawt, which became such a feature of Indonesian life, led to the settlement of Arabs in certain parts who introduced their own orders."[47]

Trimingham goes on to state: "the Islamization of Java is associated with the legend of 'the nine saints', active on the north-east coast in the early sixteenth century, who taught the mystical way and inaugurated a new era in Indonesian life."[48] In their evangelical efforts, according to these accounts, they combined their persuasive power with the art of diplomacy and of healing.[49] These nine saints, however, it should be noted, are also known by a variety of names.[50]

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[47]J. S. Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 130. See also Denys Lombard, Les tarékat, 141.

[48]Trimingham, The Sufi orders, 130.

[49]A. W. Nieuwenhuis, "Java," First Encyclopaedia of Islam, eds., M. Houtsma, vol. 4, 1913 - 1916 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987).

[50]Ibid., 577.

Trimingham states furthermore that: "the *Naqshabandiyya* was introduced from Mecca into Minangkabau (Sumatra) about 1845. A dispute arose between its adherents and the established *Shaṭṭārī* devotees, but largely on legalistic and secondary issues rather than mysticism. The *Sammāniyya* entered Sumatra (Palembang and Acheh) through the efforts of ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh (d.1800) better known as al-Palembānī, a Sumatran pupil of Al-Sammānī who lived in Mecca and initiated pilgrims from his own country. The orders spread into all these parts after they had acquired their definitive form."[51] The *ṭarīqa* was founded by Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd al-Karīm al-Sammān (1719 - 1775) in Medina. ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad, his disciple, composed *ratib Samman* , a text recited as *dhikr* which became very popular in Acheh.[52] ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad of Palembang translated and commented on parts of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' ᶜUlūm al-Dīn* , in a work that became known as *Sayr al-Sālikīn.*[53] Al-Palimbānī also wrote *Zuhrat al-Murīd fī Bayān Kalimat al-Tawḥīd*. In 1765 his work entitled *Naṣīhat al-Muslimīn wa Tadhkirat al-Mu'minīn fī Faḍā'il al-Jihād fī Sabīl Allāh wa Karāmāt al-Mujāhidīn fī Sabīl Allāh* inspired the Achehnese against the Dutch. Other works of this Sufi include *Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn fī Bayān Ḥaqīqat Īmān al-Mu'minīn* (written in 1774) and *al-ᶜUrwa al-Mutqā wa Silsilat ulī al-Ittiqā,*[54] *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn fī*

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[51]Trimingham. The Sufi Orders, 130. See also Denys Lombard, Les tarékat, 144.

[52]Denys Lombard, Les tarékat, 144. See also Abubakar Aceh, Pengantar Ilmu Tarekat (Solo: Ramadhani, 1990), 354. Hurgronje states that besides *rātib sammān, ḥikāyat Sammān* was also famous in Acheh.

[53]ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī, Sayr al-Sālikīn ilā ᶜIbādat Rabb al-ᶜAlamīn (Banda Aceh: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan Negeri Aceh, 1985) transcribed by Muᶜin ᶜUmar into Latin script. See also Hawash Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawwuf dan Tokoh-tokohnya di Nusantara (Surabaya: Al-Ikhlas, 1980), 93.

[54]ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī, Sayr al-Sālikīn, Latin script page vii - x on his biography written by Henry Chambert-Loir. See also M. Chatib Quzwain, Mengenal Allah Suatu Studi Mengenai Ajaran Tasawuf Syaikh Abdus-Samad al-Palimbani (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1985), 14. Here he states that the manuscript of *Tuḥfat* is available in Perpustakaan Nasional (Museum Pusat), Jakarta, no. Ml. 719 (V. d. W. 37).

Sulūk Maslak al-Muttaqīn (written in 1192 A. H./1778 A. D.)[55] and *Zād al-Muttaqīn fī Tawḥīd Rabb al-ᶜĀlamīn*.[56]

It is not known exactly how the *Qādiriyya* came to Indonesia , but what we do know is that Ḥamza Fanṣūrī of Barus in North Sumatra was of the *Qādiriyya* order, and being a man of repute, he must have gathered about him a large circle of disciples.[57]

According to Osman bin Bakar:

> Ḥamza Fanṣūrī was influenced by the teaching of Ibn ᶜArabī and ᶜAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī who tended to believe that the creature is the outer aspect of the real Truth, made manifest from the One who is God (*Tajallī*). Al-Fanṣūrī's writings, which include his prose works, the *Asrār al-ᶜĀrifīn* (The Secret of the Gnostics), the *Sharb* and the *Muntahī* (The Adept), and various poems are highly significant in many respects.[58]

Osman bin Bakar further states that the significance of al-Fanṣūrī's formulations for Malay intellectual tradition lies on the fact that he was the first Sufi who explained the philosophical and mystical doctrines in the Malay language. This was made possible by his mastery of the Arabic and Persian as well as his understanding of Sufi doctrine.[59] Schrieke

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[55] ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī, Hidāyat al-Sālikīn (Bandung: Maᶜārif), 307. Hawash Abdullah mentions that *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn* as one of his works is not merely a translation of *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* of al-Ghazālī but a substantial commentary on it, while the translation itself was done by Shaykh Daud ibn Abdullah al-Fatanī. See Hawash Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawwuf, 93, 146. Henry Chambert-Loir mentions that *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn* is a translation of *Bidāyat* and done by al-Palimbānī. (see page x, xi and xii about biography of al-Palimbānī in Sayr al-Sālikīn, transcribed by Muᶜin ᶜUmar).

[56] M. Chatib Quzwain, Mengenal Allah, Suatu Studi Mengenai Ajaran Tasawuf Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Samad al-Palimbānī (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1985), 30. He mentions eight of al-Palimbānī's works on page 22-30.

[57] Syed Naguib al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised among the Malays (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963), 51.

[58] Osman bin Bakar, Sufism, 283. See also Al-Attas, The Mysticism of Hamza Fanṣūrī, 223-224.

[59] Osman bin Bakar, Sufism, 283.

notes that "the writings of Ḥamza Fanṣūrī betray familiarity with Persian mystical-erotic poetry." [60]

Another famous Malay mystic who flourished in Acheh was Shams al-Dīn Pasai (d. 1039/1630) who is also known by the name of al-Sumatrānī. According to al-Attas:

> Shams al-Dīn Pasai whose metaphysical speculations emphasized, like those of Junayd al-Baghdādī, the priority of the intellect, rather than emotion, in the pursuit of knowledge of God. Both Ḥamza and Shams al-Dīn, were regarded as heterodox mystics, and as such, most of their works were thrown into the flames by their opponents. In some of the prose works of Shams al-Dīn as in some of the poetical works of Ḥamza, we find God and creation being described in terms of the analogy of the ocean or sea and waves and surge.[61]

Osman bin Bakar states that Shams al-Dīn's works and teachings were first made known to the outside world by Dutch scholars for example by C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze.[62] Osman continues, saying that Shams al-Dīn Pasai was the greatest representative of the *wujūdiyya* school after al-Fanṣūrī. Both of them "enjoyed the protection and patronage of their respective sultans in carrying out their intellectual activities in the face of strong opposition from the exoteric *ᶜulamā '*." A. H. Johns quotes Van Nieuwenhuijze's remark that "Shams al-Dīn's mysticism in more than one respect 'stands midway between the Indian and Javanese forms of Islamic mysticism.' "[63]

According to al-Attas: " In 1637, Acheh saw the arrival of the famous exponent of 'orthodox' mysticism, Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī ibn Ḥasanaji ibn Muḥammad Ḥamid al-Ranīrī al-Quraishī al-Shāfiᶜī, better known simply as Nūr al-Dīn al-

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[60]Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies, part two 247.

[61]Al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism, 25.

[62]Osman bin Bakar, Sufism, 285. C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze with his work Shamsu'l -Din van Pasai (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954).

[63]A. H. Johns, "Islam in Southeast Asia: Problems of Perspective," in Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia. 23. See C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze, Shamsu'l-Din van Pasai, 239.

Ranīrī (d.1666). It is known that apart from being a thinker of considerable depth, al-Ranīrī was also a prolific writer of books and treatises."[64]

Another famous Malay mystic who was active in seventeenth century Acheh was ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf Singkel (d.1693). He was also a prolific writer of treatises, books and translations from the Arabic of well known mystical works. Like Ḥamza al-Fanṣūrī, he too travelled widely in the Middle East in his quest for knowledge.[65] Al-Attas points out that ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf was a disciple of Aḥmad Qushashī (a shaykh of the *Shaṭṭāriyya* order) when he studied in Madina. His name always appears in the *silsila* (spiritual genealogy of the Sufi orders) and he became the first Malay mystic to intoduce the *Shaṭṭāriyya* into the archipelago.[66] He is credited with the first complete Malay translation and commentary on the Qur'ān, based on the famous work of al-Bayḍāwī.ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf's *Tafsīr, Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Ta'wīl* was published in Istanbul in 1884.[67]

According to Lombard, the disciples of ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf Singkel were Burhān al-Dīn and ᶜAbd al-Muḥyī. The first is said to have been responsibe for the Islamization of west Sumatra (at least in the costal areas). He became the head of the *ṭarīqa* and died in 1699. The latter is said to have been the one who was responsible for the Islamization of west Java in the seventeenth century, especially in the mountainous area to the south of Tasikmalaya. ᶜAbd al-Muḥyī's tomb is in the village of Pamijahan in the district of

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[64]Al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism, 26. See also Tudjimah, "Asrār al-Insān fī Maᶜrifa al-Rūḥ wa al-Raḥmān" (Thesis., Universitas Indonesia, 1961), 9-22. The author lists twenty-three works of al-Ranīrī with details on manuscripts... See also Ahmad Daudy, Shaykh Nur al-Dīn al-Ranīrī (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1978), 18-26, who lists twenty-nine of Ranīrī's works.

[65]Al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism, 28.

[66]Ibid., 29.

[67]Osman bin Bakar, Sufism, 287. For further information see also Denys Lombard, Les tarékat, 141. See also A. H. Johns. Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and New Directions in Indonesia. Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, no 19 April 1975, 47. See also D. A. Rinkes, Abdoerraoef van Singkel, (Heerenven, 1909), 31.

Karangnunggal (west Java), not far from a cave where the tradition says that he hid with his companion and communicated with Mekka.[68]

According to Kartodirjo: "Communication with Mekka had already been established by Bantenese Muslims in the first half of the seventeenth century by repeatedly sending missions to Mecca to attempt to gain information on religious matters. During the latter part of that century, Banten was reputed as a centre of Islamic orthodoxy, where religious scholarship and a religious way of life were highly esteemed."[69]

Lombard refers to the fact that out of a collection of Javanese manuscripts catalogued by Th. Pigeaud, 39 discuss the doctrine of the *Shaṭṭāriyya*, while only three the *Qādiriyya* and two the *Naqshabandiyya*. He goes on to state that in Minangkabau (west Sumatra) the *Shaṭṭāriyya* continued growing and spread to Ulakan, while the *Qādiriyya* developed in Java, as is evident from the growing numbers of groups who recited the biography of ᶜAbd al-Qādir Jīlānī (*manakiban*), especially in the coastal areas of Pekalongan, Semarang and Juwana.[70]

According to Lombard's research the *Khalwatiyya* order, which was established in Khurasan by Zahīr al-Dīn ᶜUmar al-Khalwatī at the end of the fourteenth century, was introduced into south Sulawesi (Makassar-now Ujung Pandang) by Shaykh Yūsuf from Goa . He was born in 1626, and went on the pilgrimage in 1644.[71] Shaykh Yūsuf went to Acheh through Banten in 1645. He received the *ṭarīqa Qādiriyya* by Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī in Acheh and the *ṭarīqa Naqshabandiyya* by Shaykh Abū ᶜAbd Allāh ᶜAbd al-Bāqī Billāh

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[68]Denys Lombard, Les tarékat, 141, 144. See also Sartono Kartodirjo. "The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888: The Religious Revival" in Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia. 106.

[69]Ḥamza Fanṣūrī is also said to have visited Banten. See Sartono Kartodirjo, The Peasants', 106 - 107.

[70]Denys Lombard, Les tarékat, 145 - 146.

[71]Ibid., 144.

and the *ṭarīqa al-Saᶜāda al-Baᶜalawiyya* by Sayyid ᶜAlī when he was in Yaman. When he was in Madina he was received into the *ṭarīqa Shaṭṭāriyya* by Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī as well as the *ṭarīqa Khalwatiyya* by ᶜAbd al-Barakāt Ayyūb ibn Aḥmad ibn Ayyūb al-Khalwatī al-Qurashī in Damascus.[72] He returned to Sulawesi to work against Dutch colonialism there. Makassar was occupied by the Dutch in 1667. Shaykh Yūsuf returned to Banten and continued fighting against the Dutch. He was captured in 1683, deported to Ceylon then to Capstad (south Africa) in 1693 and died in 1699. He left Karaeng Abd al-Jalīl to continue the *Khalwatiyya* in Makassar.[73]

Lombard also informs us of the rise of the Naqshabandiyya order in the Indonesian Archipelago, pointing to L. W. C. van den Berg's statement that he had come across *Naqshabandiyya* activity in Acheh and in Bogor (west Java), where he had witnessed the *Naqshabandiyya dhikr*. He then goes on to describe the coming of the *Naqshabandiyya* to the region of Medan, where a community was founded at Langkat.[74]

Lombard further states that Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb Rokan al-Khālidī al-Naqshabandī introduced the *Naqshabandiyya* to Riau. After spending two years in the Malay Archipelago engaging in trade, he went to Mekka and studied under Shaykh Sulaymān al-Zuhdī. In 1854 he received his certificate and came back to Riau where he finally built a *Naqshabandī* village called The Door of Salvation (*Bāb al-Salām*) .[75]

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[72]Hawash Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawwuf, 62, 65-66. See also Tudjimah, Asrār al-Insān, 15.

[73]Denys Lombard, Les tarékat, 144. See also Hawash Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawwuf, 75. See also Abubakar Aceh, Pengantar Ilmu Tarekat, 416.

[74]Denys Lombard, Les tarékat, 146.

[75]Ibid., 146 - 147. See also Van Bruinessen, The Origin, 171.

ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Yūsuf al-Jāwī al-Banjarī, who was also a disciple of Sulaymān Zuhdī in Mekka, introduced *al-Khālidiyya* to Banjar, an order which was essentially the *Naqshabandiyya* although it also can be called a branch of the latter.[76] At about the same time another Sufi by the name of Shaykh Muḥammad Nafīs ibn Idrīs ibn Ḥusayn al-Banjarī wrote *al-Durr al-Nafīs*, "which expounds a popular version of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, and is found in south Kalimantan, Acheh and Malaysia."[77]

Another Indonesian Sufi by the name of Muḥammad Arshad Al-Banjarī (d. 1812) was a moderate sufi from Banjarmasin (South Kalimantan), who is supposed to have introduced the *Sammāniyya* order to Banjar. He studied in Mekka and taught there.[78] Arshad al-Banjarī was a colleague of ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palembanī, ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb Bugis and ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Misri. The four of them learned *taṣawwuf* from Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Karīm al-Sammānī,[79] on the basis of whose name the *ṭarīqa* was called *Sammāniyya*.[80] His works are *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn li al-Tafaqquh fī Amr al-Dīn, Perukunan Melayu* and *Kanz al-Maᶜrifa* (?).[81] *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn* is one of the most important Malay texts of fiqh.

76Denys Lombard, Les tarékat, 147.

77Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning: Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren" Milieu in Bijdragen tot de Instituut voor Taal-hand-en Volkkenkunde, Deel 146, (1990): 257. See also Hawash Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf, 107.

78Steenbrink, Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam, 96.

79Ibid., 92.

80G. W. J. Drewes, Directions for Travellers on the Mystic Path (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1977), 36.

81Steenbrink, Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam, 91, 96. According to Van Bruinessen the *Sābīl al-Muhtadīn* was written because the previous Malay *fiqh* handbook, *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* by al-Ranīrī, contained too many regionalisms and was difficult to understand. The sources of the *Sabīl* are Malībarī's *Fatḥ al-Muᶜīn* and Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's *Manhaj al-Ṭullāb*. See Van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, 249-250.

Although al-Banjarī's work is rarely found in Java, it is still quite popular in the Malay-speaking areas.[82]

Schrieke points out: "the changes in the role of the *ṭarīqas* in the archipelago came about not only because of certain *ṭarīqas* becoming fashionable in Mekka, India and Persia, but also because the native men (Malay and Javanese) of learning, after completing their pilgrimage and studies, returned home and continued to exert an influence on the spiritual life of their homeland."[83] Yet at the same time, there was also strong opposition to Sufi orders.

Steenbrink writes concerning Aḥmad Khāṭib Minangkabau (born 1860), [84] "He was against the *ṭarīqa* and wrote *Iẓhār Zaghl al-Kādhibīn fī tashabbuhihim bi al-Ṣādiqīn* .... This book consists of the answers to five questions: the first about the origin of the *ṭarīqa Naqshabandiyya*, the second about the *silsila* of the *ṭarīqa Naqshabandiyya* , the third concerning *sulūk* , the fourth regarding the prohibition of eating meat and the fifth about imagining the picture of the Shaykh by the *murīd* (*rābiṭa*)." [85] His opposition to the *ṭarīqas* drew varied reactions, especially in west Sumatra. Shaykh Munkar and Shaykh Khāṭib ᶜAlī answered his *Iẓhār* with a specific work.[86] Deliar Noer refers to him as the founder of the reformist movement.[87]

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[82]Van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, 249.

[83]Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies, part two 248.

[84]Not to be confused with Aḥmad Khāṭib Sambas, the founder of the *ṭarīqa Qadiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya* who had numerous Indonesian disciples and who appointed *khalīfas* to various parts of the Archipelago, from Sumatra to Lombok. One of these was, ᶜAbd al-Karīm of Banten who popularized the *ṭarīqa* in Banten, especially among the poor village population. Its popularity propelled it into the role of a network of communication and coordination when a large-scale peasant's rebellion broke out in Banten in 1888. See Van Bruinessen, The Origin, 169. See also chapter two of this thesis pp. 36-37, 51.

[85]Steenbrink, Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam, 143 - 147.

[86]B. J. O. Schrieke, Penguasa-penguasa Pribumi, (Jakarta: Bhratara, 1974), 30 - 34. The original title is De Indlandsche Hoofden, 1928). Denys Lombard mentions that Aḥmad Khāṭib was against

Furthermore Steenbrinks writes that another figure who was against the *ṭarīqas* was Sayyid ᶜUthmān ibn ᶜAqil [?] ibn Yaḥyā al-ᶜAlawī, who was born in Jakarta in 1822. His parents were Arabs from Hadramawt. ᶜUthmān wrote several books. He was against the *ṭarīqas* as well as *jihād*. Hurgronje mentions him as *Een Arabisch bondgenoot der Nederlandsch Indische regeering* (An Arab fellow of the Dutch Government). Before he met with Hurgronje he was already a friend of L. W. C. Van den Berg and K. F. Holle.[88]

Despite opposition to the *ṭarīqas*, the fact is that "the *ṭarīqa Qādiriyya* was strong in Banten and Serang in the 17th and 18th centuries and the *Naqshabandiyya* in the 19th and 20th centuries,"[89]

The *Tījāniyya* was another significant Sufi order present in Indonesia. Lombard states: "The *Tījāniyya* order was introduced to Cirebon (west Java) in 1928, an event marked by the appearance of the *Kitāb Munājat al-Murīd*, published by an Arab in Tasikmalaya..., the *Tījāniyya* followers increased rapidly in Tasikmalaya, Cirebon, Brebes and Banyumas. At first this order was under the direction of Kiyai Buntet and Kiyai Madrais until the Second World War but later under Kiyai Madrais' influence, it was renamed to *Agama Sunda* (Sunda religion), and no longer a *ṭarīqa*, it became *Kebatinan* or *Kejawen*."[90]

The role of the *ṭarīqas* in colonial times was ambivalent. On the one hand they were closely linked to the Qur'ānic school (*madrasa* in Java, the pesantren) where the master was both an *ustādh* and a *murshid*. The masters established a network that made it easy for

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the *ṭarīqa Naqshabandiyya* in west Sumatra since he was in Mekka. See also Denys Lombard, Les tarékat, 144.

[87]Deliar Noer, Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1980), 38 - 40.

[88]Steenbrink, Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam, 134, 136.

[89]Denys Lombard, Les tarékat, 142-143. See also Martin van Bruinessen, "Tarekat Qādiriya dan Ilmu Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlany di India, Kurdistan dan Indonesia." ᶜUlūmul Qur'ān 2, (1989): 69-70.

[90]Denys Lombard, Les tarékat, 147 - 148.

them to communicate and mobilize themselves. Thus, although they were active in rural areas they were nevertheless able to keep in touch with the cities and abroad. On the other hand the local folklore and popular beliefs of old were mixed with the *ṭarīqas* and developed into kebatinan.[91]

In the nineteenth century the *taṣawwuf* works which were studied in the pesantren according to L. W. C. van den Berg were as follows: *Iḥyā' ᶜUlūm al-Dīn* of Al-Ghazālī in addition to *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* and *Minhāj al-ᶜĀbidīn* ; *Al-Ḥikam* of ibn Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī; *Shuᶜab al-Īmān* of Muḥammad ibn ᶜAbd Allāh al-ᶜĪjī and *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā' ilā Ṭarīq al-Awliyā'* of Zayn al-Dīn al-Malībarī. (d. 928/1522).[92]

Evidence shows that the *ṭarīqas* still have an important social and political role to play in the enrichment of the spiritual lives of the Indonesian people of today. This can be observed in the establishment of a political party named *Partai Politik Thariqat Islam* (PPTI) in 1950 by Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn, a *khalīfa* of Shaykh ᶜAlī Riḍā of Jabal Abū Qubais. He used to claim that the PPTI had been established as early as 1920, and that the initials then stood for *Persatuan Pembela Thariqat Islam* (Union of Defenders of the Islamic *Ṭarīqa*). This organization seems to be attached to the *Naqshabandī* order.[93] In 1957 a larger organization was founded by the *Nahdlatul ᶜUlamā'*, the Central Board of *Jamᶜiyya Ahli Thoriqoh Muᶜtabaroh* [94] which has established its branches through out Indonesia. In their

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[91]Ibid., 148.

[92]Steenbrink, Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam, 154, 157. The research was done by Van den Berg in 1880.

[93]Van Bruinessen, The Origin, 175.

[94]Zamakhshari Dhofier. Tradisi Pesantren Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiyai (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985), 143.

national conference in Semarang in 1981, 45 different *ṭarīqas* were accepted as members and considered as providing a link to the prophet Muḥammad peace be upon him.[95]

C. Conclusion.

By observing the formation, the development and the reaction to Sufism in Indonesia, the evidence shows that the *ṭarīqas* are still developing and taking root throughout the country, especially with the establishment of the *ṭarīqa* organizations.

The fact that the *aliran kebatinan* and other religious beliefs which exist in Indonesia are still flourishing among their followers is perhaps an indication of the deep spiritual beliefs of the Indonesian people. However, since most of the population is Muslim, Sufism might be the religious tendency which will experience greater expansion in the future.

[95]Idāroh ᶜAliyyah, Thoriqoh Muᶜtabaroh Nahdliyyah (Semarang: CV. Toha Putra), 38. In 1989 they gathered at a national congress (*muᶜtamar*) in Pondok Pesantren Futūḥiyya, Mranggen, Demak, Central Java and elected a committe for the period 1989-1994. See also Idāroh ᶜAliyyah. Hasil Muktamar VII Jamᶜiyya Thoriqoh Muᶜtabaroh An-Nahdliyyah (Semarang: C.V. Wiradjati, 1990), 60 - 61.

Chapter II

NAWAWĪ AL-BANTENĪ : HIS LIFE AND WORKS.

A. Nawawī's family, and his educational background.

Nawawī's full name was Abū ᶜAbd al-Muᶜṭī Muḥammad ibn ᶜUmar ibn ᶜArabī al-Tanarī al-Bantanī al-Jāwī. He was born in the village of Tanara, in the district of Tirtayasa, Serang, Banten, west Java, Indonesia, in 1230 A. H. /1813 A. D.[1] According to the local religious leaders, the name of the village Tanara means to enlighten; some scholars see a coincidence in this as they believe Nawawī to have "enlightened" Islamic education.[2] The name "Nawawī", by which he is also commonly known was apparently chosen as a way of honouring the famous Nawawī, the author of *Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn* and of *al-Tibyān*.[3]

"His father ᶜUmar ibn ᶜArabi was a district-penghulu (i. e. director of the mosque, etc.) in Tanara who himself taught his sons, Nawawī, Tāmīm and Aḥmad, the subjects of *ᶜIlm al-kalām*, *naḥw* ,*tafsīr* and *fiqh*. The brothers received further instruction from Ḥajji Sahal, then a famous teacher in Banten, and later went to Purwakarta in Krawang (West Java), where Raden Ḥajji Yūsuf attracted students who travelled there from the whole of

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[1]C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur, Zweiter Supplement-Band (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1938), 813. See also. Zamakhsyari Dhofier, "The Pesantren Tradition. A Study of the Role of the Kiyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java," (Ph. D. Dissertation The Australian National University, 1980), 127. see also Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiyai (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1984), 87. See also. Louis Ma'lūf, Al-Munjid fī al-Lugha wa al-Aᶜlām (Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1988), 581. Scholars disagree over the spelling of Nawawī. C. Brockelmann and Louis Ma'lūf give it as Nawāwī, while Khayr al-Dīn Al-Ziriklī in Al-Aᶜlām Qāmūs Tarājim li Ashhar al-Rijāl wa al-Nisā' min al-ᶜArab wa al-Mustaᶜribīn wa al-Mustashriqīn (Beirut: Dār al-ᶜIlm li'l Malāyīn, 1980), vol. 6, 318 shortens the second vowel, just as Nawawī himself does in his manuscripts. See also Muhammad Nawawī, Qalā'id al-Mubtadi'īn, 1 Ms (photocopy ... *Muḥammad Nawawī innī qad kuntu waḍaᶜtu sharḥan ᶜalā al-sittīn mas'alah*...). See also Nawawī al-Bantenī, Shurūt al-Iqtidā', 30 Ms (photocopy). *qāla al-Faqīr Muḥammad Nawawī ibn ᶜUmar*... In his printed works, the name generally appears as Nawawī, not Nawāwī.

[2]H. Rafiuddin Ramli, Sejarah Hidup dan Keturunan Syekh Kiyai Muhammad Nawawī (Tanara: Yayasan An-Nawawī, 1399 A. H.), 3.

[3]His full name was Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf [al-Dīn] ibn Mūrī ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥusayn Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī (d. 676/1278). Brockelmann lists 33 works of Nawawī. See GAL SI, 680-686.

Java, particularly from west Java." [4] According to Hurgronje, Nawawī and his brothers made the pilgrimage while they were quite young. Afterwards, it would appear that only Nawawī remained behind in Mekka for about three years. [5]

Around 1833 Nawawī returned home with an extensive knowledge of the Islamic sciences. The youth in his village were interested in studying with him,[6] but after his three year experience in the Holy Land, Nawawī had become accustomed to the system of Islamic education in Mekka. This combined with the restriction on Islamic education in Indonesia set by the Dutch authorities, may have led him to decide to settle permanently in the neighbourhood of the House of God. [7] According to Guillot around 1850 Nawawī returned to Mekka for good.[8]

It seems to have been a tendency that the Indonesians who lived in Mekka at that time would gather among themselves and study from teachers who originated from the same country.[9] The positive aspect of this attitude perhaps is that students could feel free and were more comfortable with their teacher. This would enable them to make progress in their studies and spare them some of the initial difficulties with language and culture. At the

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[4]Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 3. See also C. Snouck Hurgronje, Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970) , 268.

[5]Hurgronje, Mekka, 268. See also Chaidar, Sejarah Pujangga Islam Syekh Nawawī al-Banteni Indonesia (Jakarta: C. V. Sarana Utama, 1978), 30. Nawawī's age at that time was about 15.

[6]Chaidar, Sejarah Pujangga Islam, 40. See also Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 4. Neither source mentions any date, but one might estimate that this occured around 1833.

[7]Hurgronje, Mekka, 268.

[8]C. Guillot, "Nawawī al-Bantanī, Muḥammad (Syeh)," In Dictionnaire biographique des savants et grandes figures du monde musulman périphérique, du XIX^e siècle à nos jours. ed. Marc Gaborieau et al. Paris: Programme de recherches interdisciplinaires sur le monde musulman périphérique, Fascicule no 1 (April 1992): 34. Dhofier in Tradisi Pesantren, 88 states that Nawawī was active in Mekka from 1830 to 1860 ... whereas Brockelmann says that Nawawī settled permanently in Mekka about 1855. See C. Brockelmann, "Al-Nawawī," eds. M. Houtsma The Encyclopaedia of Islam (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1938). Since Hurgronje states that he met Nawawī [i. e. in 1885] and that Nawawī had been in Mekka for 30 years, Brockelmann and Guillot's proximations seem to be more correct.

[9]Walid ibn Ibrahim, "Syeikh Nawāwī al-Bantani Penghulu Ulama Hijaz." Amanah 49 (1988) : 7.

same time it gave them an opportunity to discuss issues affecting Indonesia. Conversely, it could also make them narrow-minded and discourage them from communicating with others. Concerning his teachers according to Ramli, Nawawī, "while he was in Mekka, studied under Aḥmad Naḥrāwī, Aḥmad Dimyāṭī, and Aḥmad Zaini Dahlan. However, he occasionally left Mekka to travel to other countries. He studied with Yūsuf al-Dāghistānī while in Dāghistān (in the former of USSR), and perhaps other scholars during his travels in Egypt and Syria."[10] However, Ramli does not cite any evidence for Nawawī's travels outside Mekka. Hurgronje states that Nawawī studied "at first with Khāṭib Sambas and ʿAbd al-Ghanī Bima, but his real teachers were the Egptian Yūsuf Sumbulāwīnī and Naḥrāwī besides ʿAbd al-Ḥāmid al-Dāghistānī."[11] Naḥrāwī may be identified with the Aḥmad Naḥrāwī, referred to as the author of *al-Durr al-Farīd.*[12] Walid ibn Ibrahim adds that Nawawī also studied under Yusuf Sumbawa.[13] The question arises whether Yūsuf Sumbulāwīnī and Yūsuf Sumbawa are the same person. There is no proof for either explanation so far,[14] although Nawawī himself consistently refers to his teacher as Yūsuf Sumbulāwīnī.[15] Rafiuddin Ramli further notes that Nawawī learned from Shaykh

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[10]H. Rafiuddin Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 3-4.

[11]Hurgronje, Mekka, 268-269. Neither one of the above sources mentions the exact date of Nawawī's contacts with these individuals. For further discussion of Nawawī's teachers, see also below, pp. 36, 45, 51, 58.

[12]Ibid., 271.

[13]Walid, Syeikh Nawawī, 7.

[14]Ibid., 7. Walid mentions Yusuf Sumbawa [means Yusuf from Sumbawa an island in the eastern part of Indonesia]. Steenbrink repeats the information given by Hurgronje in Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke 19 (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984), 118.

[15]Nawawī al-Bantenī, Salālim al-Fuḍalā', 89, 97, 105, 106. See also Nawawī al-Bantenī, Nihāyat al-Zayn fī Irshād al-Mubtadi'īn (Bandung: al-Maʿārif), 281. See also Nawawī al-Bantenī, Kāshifat al-Sajā sharh ʿalā Safīnat al-Najā (Indonesia: Maktaba al-ʿAydarūs), 5. See also Nawawī al-Bantenī, Madārij al-Suʿūd (Semarang: Maktaba wa Maṭbaʿa Toha Putra), 2.

Muḥammad Khaṭīb al-Ḥanbalī when he was in Medina.[16] Hurgronje states that Nawawī maintained active associations with the Arab divines of Mekka.[17]

In Mekka, improving his knowledge of the Islamic sciences and acting as leader, Nawawī smoothed the path of study for the "Jawah" (the peoples of the East Indian Archipelago and Malaya).[18] At first he taught during every available hour, but in the last fifteen years of this period he concentrated more on his literary work. Every morning, between 07. 30 and 12. 00 noon, he gave about three lectures, in accordance to the requirements of his numerous pupils. He welcomed younger boys who would begin their studies with grammar, as well as more advanced students.[19] He taught in the *Masjid al-Ḥarām* between the years 1860-1870, after which time he gave up teaching in order to devote himself entirely to writing.[20] Nawawī wrote prolificly in Arabic. Hurgronje notes that he was more proficient in his writing than in his speaking.[21] According to his disciple ᶜAbd al-Sattār al-Dihlawī, Nawawī derived the ideas for his written work while he was teaching.[22]

Hurgronje, who met Nawawī in person in Mekka comments (perhaps unfairly) that "Nawawī was a significant example of the difficulties which a Javanese must overcome in oral use of the Arabic tongue." He states on the one hand that Nawawī, after a thorough preliminary training he lived for thirty years in Mekka. He was able to recite the Qur'ān of by heart and he could pronounce the Arabic consonants correctly. On the other hand,

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[16]Ramli, Sejarah Hidup , 3.

[17]Hurgronje, Mekka, 268.

[18]Hurgronje, Mekka, 6. In the introduction (page v), it is explained that the "Jawah" is the term used by the Mekkans to call the people of the East-Indian Archipelago.

[19]Ibid., 269.

[20]Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren, 88.

[21]Hurgronje, Mekka, 269.

[22]H. Rafiuddin Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 5.

whenever he used the colloquial language, according to Hurgronje, Nawawī "formed half Javanese-constructed sentences" and from his observations states that he "hurls about the gutturals *ḥa, kha, ᶜayn,* and *qāf* in despair." These four sounds caused the Javanese the most trouble, and as the *kha* gave comparatively the least trouble, many of them used this instead of the *ḥa* and *qāf,* and for this reason were often laughed at by the Mekkans." [23]

Hurgronje goes on to tell us how the phrase '*qara'tu fī 'l ḥarām sabᶜah sinīn* ' (I have studied in the *Ḥarām* for seven years) would be transformed into '*khari'tu fī 'l kharam sabᶜah sinīn* ' (for seven years I have polluted the *Kharām*), in the mouth of the Javanese, giving delight to the mischievious Arab boys of Mekka.[24] In referring to the "Javanese" as he does, Hurgronje, I believe, perpetuates a misconception common amongst Arabs even today, by which the inhabitants of Indonesia, whatever their local origin or background are generalized as being "Javanese".

Hurgronje states that Nawawī's personal ambition led him to concentrate his activity in the literary sphere. Most of his work was published in Cairo; it is possible that he also had material published in Mekka. Some examples of Nawawī's works published in Cairo are as follows: in the grammatical field a commentary on the *al-Ajurrūmiyya* by Ibn Ajurrūm (1881 A. D.); a treatise on style *Lubāb al-Bayān* (1884); in the field of doctrine *Dharīᶜat al-Yaqīn,* a commentary on the well known work of Abū Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn ᶜUmar ibn Shuᶜayb al-Sanūsī (d. 1490 A. D.),*Umm al-Barāhīn* (1886); a commentary entitled *Fath al-Mujīb* on *al-Durr al-Farīd,* written by Nawawī's teacher al-Naḥrāwī (1881) and others."[25]

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[23]Hurgronje, Mekka , 269.

[24]Ibid., 269.

[25]Ibid., 271. See also C. Brockelmann, Al-Nawawī, 885. where the commentary on *al-Durr al-Farīd,* is referred to with the title *Fatḥ al-Majīd;* See also Rafiuddin Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 8-9, where Ramli distinguishes between the two different works, *Fatḥ al-Majīd,* a commentary on *al-Durr al-Farīd,* and *Fatḥ al-Mujīb,* a commentary on *ᶜIlm al-Manāsik* of al-Shirbīnī.

Nawawī's wife, according to Hurgronje, was of rural origin. Elsewhere he states that Nawawī had four children from two Arab wives.[26] Ramli tells us that the names of Nawawī's children were Ruqaya, Nafīsa, Maryam and Zahra.[27] According to Chaidar's notes "Nawawī's wives were both of rural origin, their names are Nasima and Hamdana. From Nasima, Nawawī had Maryam, Nafīsa and Ruqaya while from Hamdana, he had Zuhro (Zahra)."[28] Hurgronje further notes that Nawawī's wife seemed "to have a greater sense of realities" and looked after the more important family business, in contrast to Nawawī who had "no instinct for making money although rich gifts were presented to him he lived in extreme simplicity, and wrote his books at night by the glow of a small petroleum lamp, which other people only used when showing a visitor out." His wife took care of the guests whom Nawawī "invited to meals on holidays," while Nawawī acted as though he were a stranger in his own house.[29]

As far as Nawawī's relatives are concerned, Hurgronje writes that his brother next in years, Tāmīm, did not pursue such thorough studies as the Shaykh but was said to have had a good Arabic style, and to have spoken good Arabic. "Formerly he had been a pilgrim-Shaykh, and before the steamer had gained supremacy over the traffic, he earned good money as a pilgrim-agent in Singapore. Nawawī himself for several years was also a pilgrim-Shaykh, although his disciples considered this activity unworthy of his scientific attainments." [30]

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[26]Hurgronje, Mekka , 273.

[27]Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 14.

[28]Chaidar, Sejarah Pujangga Islam, 5-6.

[29]Hurgronje, Mekka , 272-273.

[30]Ibid., 272.

The Shaykh Marzūqi, a nephew of Nawawī, "had a much more distinguished appearance and also spoke Arabic. In Mekka he attended the same lectures as Nawawī, and despite the slight difference in their ages, he also studied under Nawawī himself."[31]

Another relative of Nawawī was Shaykh Ismāᶜīl Banten, who held a prominent position as descendant of the Banten sultans (who count as *sayyids*), and was therefore addressed by his countryfolk as 'Tubagus.' At first he was taught by his father Ḥajji Sadili, who took him along on the pilgrimage, while Ismāᶜīl was a small boy. After returning from this Ḥajj he followed the same course of study as had Nawawī in his youth, studying in Banten under Ḥajji Sahal and in Purwakarta under Ḥajji Yūsuf. Most Islamic scholars of the older generation had studied in Banten.[32]

One source has traced Nawawī's anscestry on his father's side back to the prophet Muḥammad peace be upon him, which includes besides one of the *Walisanga*, Sharīf Hidāyāt Allāh, as well as eight of the Shiᶜite imāms (with the exception of Mūsa al-Kāẓim,[33] who should have been included by this source). This ancestry is illustrated in figure one. The same source has provided information regarding Nawawī's ancestry on his mother's side as well as his own descendants. These tables are reproduced in figures two and three.[34]

Nawawī al-Bantenī passed away on 25 *Shawwāl* 1314 A. H. /1897 A. D. at Shiᶜab ᶜAlī, Mekka, when he was 84 years old. He was buried in Maᶜlā, close to the graves of Ibn Ḥajar, Sitti Asmā' bint Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq and K. H. Arshad Qaṣīr from Tanara.[35] Out of remembrance and respect for what he has achieved through his works, the Banten

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[31]Ibid., 273.

[32]Ibid., 273-274.

[33]Moojan Momen, An Introduction to Shiᶜi Islam (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1985), 34.

[34]Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 11-12. The figures are on pp. 40-42 of this thesis.

[35]Ibid., 7. See also Chaidar, Sejarah Pujangga Islam, 36.

community celebrates the day of his death on the last Friday and Saturday night of *Shawwāl* every year in his home town of Tanara, Banten, west Java, Indonesia.

As far as Nawawī's personality was concerned, ᶜAbd al-Sattār, his disciple, notes that Nawawī was a modest man, describing him as *zāhid, mutawāḍiᶜ* and a helpful person.[36] Hurgronje writes that when he once asked him why he never lectured in the *Masjid al-Ḥarām*, he answered that the plainness of his clothes and his simple appearance "did not accord with the distinguished appearance of the Arab professors." When Hurgronje remarked that less learned countryfolk did not refrain from lecturing there, he replied, " ' If they have attained such high honour, than assuredly they have earned it' ".[37]

Hurgronje writes:

> Nawawī described himself as 'the dust of the feet of those striving for science'. He accepted the hand-kiss from almost all Javanese people living in Mekka as attribute to science, not to himself, and never refused an inquiry on the subject of the Divine Law. In social intercourse, he joined courteously in the conversation, rather than dominating it, and never started any scientific discussion without cause given by others. An Arab who did not know him might pass a whole evening in his company without ever discovering that he was the author of many learned Arabic works.[38]

At the time he was teaching his students, particularly in the *Maᶜhad Nashr al Maᶜārif al-Dīniyya* in the *Masjid al-Ḥarām*, Nawawī was famous as a kind teacher, who explained the lectures clearly and deeply, and communicated well with his students. In a situation where students were free to choose any teachers they wanted, his pupils numbered no less than 200 .[39]

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[36]Ibid., 5. See also Chaidar, Sejarah Pujangga Islam, 60-91. In these pages he explains in details about ten *karāma* of Nawawī.

[37]Hurgronje, Mekka , 271.

[38]Ibid., 270.

[39]Tim Departemen Agama R. I. , Ensiklopedi Islam Indonesia, vol.2 (Jakarta: Dep. Agama R. I., 1986), 668.

Among his disciples of Indonesian origin who later became great religious leaders are the following:

1. K. H. Hasyim Asyᶜari, of Tebuireng Jombang, Jawa Timur. (The founder of the *Nahdlatul ᶜUlamā').*

2. K. H. Khalil, of Bangkalan, Madura, Jawa Timur.

3. K. H. Asyᶜari, of Bawean, who later became Nawawī's son in law, by marrying his daughter Nyi Maryam.

4. K. H. Nahjun, of Kampung Gunung, Mauk, Tangerang, who married Nawawī's granddaughter, Nyi Salmah bint Ruqayyah bint Nawawī. K. H. Nahjun also served as his secretary, transcribing the work of "*Qaṭr al-Ghayth* ".

5. K. H. Asnawi, of Caringin, Labuan, Pandeglang, Banten.

6. K. H. Ilyas, of Kampung Teras, Tanjung, Karagilan, Serang, Banten.

7. K. H. ᶜAbd al-Ghaffar, of Kampung Lampung, Kecamatan Tirtayasa, Serang, Banten.

8. K. H. Tubagus Bakri, of Sempur, Purwakarta.[40]

Nawawī had a great influence on his disciples. They became strong Muslims, both in a religious and political sense. It is known that Banten, Madura, Acheh, Padang and Makassar (now Ujungpandang) were and still are centres of strong Muslim belief. For this reason Hurgronje suggested to the Dutch Colonial Government that he study further about Muslim Banten, as he had in the case of Acheh during the Achehnese war (1873-1904).[41] "Although Nawawī himself seems not to have been directly involved in 'The Movement of Cilegon in 1888' (many historians refer to this event as the peasants' revolt of Banten), it is nevertheless a fact that most of the rebels were his pupils." [42] While Nawawī does not ever

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[40]Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 10-11.

[41]Walid ibn Ibrahim, Syaikh Nawawī, 4.

[42]Ibid., 4.

seem to have been interested in a political role, it would however, have been impossible for him to serve the infidel government even as a penghulu as his father and his brother H. Aḥmad (who succeeded his father) once had done. Hurgronje seems to imply that Nawawī was seen as dangerous by the Dutch because of his influence on Indonesian pilgrims, and because the authorities believed that he inspired them to rebel against the colonial government.[43]

Walid notes that "many Indonesian religious leaders co-operated and corresponded with Muslim scholars in Saudi Arabia between the 16th and the 19th centuries. They also invited Muslim scholars from Mekka, Yaman and India to Indonesia to preach. On the other hand Indonesian Muslims who had become residents of the Ḥijāz, served the pilgrims as *muṭawwif* and *muzawwir.* " [44] Among Indonesian pilgrims it was common to hear the names of Shaykh's like Indragiri, Batawi, Palembani, Bawean, Bantani, Minangkabawi and others. For Indonesian Muslims at that time, the pilgrimage had a very important meaning, for in addition to giving religious prestige or knowledge, the *ḥajj* had a political and social impact in developing Islam in Indonesia.[45]

According to Hurgronje, "Nawawī neither encouraged nor discouraged his students from joining a *ṭarīqa.*" [46] This point merits further comment given that Nawawī is generally assumed to have been a disciple of Shaykh Khāṭib Sambas (Aḥmad Khāṭib al-Sambasī), the founder of the combined *ṭarīqa al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshabandiyya.*[47]

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[43]Hurgronje, Mekka, 270.

[44]Walid ibn Ibrahim, Syaikh Nawawī, 4. A *muṭawwif* is a person who guides the pilgrims in their performance the *rukn* of the *ḥajj*; a *muzawwir* is a person who guides the pilgrims in their visit to historical sites.

[45]Martin van Bruinessen, "Mencari Ilmu dan Pahala di Tanah Suci", ᶜUlumul Qur'ān 5 vol. 2 (1990): 43.

[46]Hurgronje, Mekka, 271.

[47]Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren, 87-88, 141. See also Syed Naguib Al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised among the Malays edited by Shirle Gordon (Singapore:

Aḥmad Khāṭib Sambas was born in Kalimantan and settled in Mecca during the second quarter of the nineteenth century and remained there until his death in 1875. He was in fact a learned scholar in every branch of Islamic knowledge.[48] He was reknown in Indonesia for his success in combining the teachings of the two important *ṭarīqa* orders in Indonesia, the *Qādiriyya* and the *Naqshabandiyya.* In Java his *ṭarīqa* order is now called *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshabandiyya.* This *ṭarīqa* became instrumental in spreading Islam to Indonesia and Malay in the second half of the nineteenth century. Shaykh Sambas wrote *Fatḥ al-ᶜĀrifīn* (Victory of the Gnostics) which became the most popular and important work on Sufi practice in the Malay world.[49] According to Martin van Bruinessen, Shaykh Sambas did not teach the two *ṭarīqas* separately but rather in combined fashion. From this point of view it may be seen as a new *ṭarīqa,* different from both of the *ṭarīqas* on which it is based.[50]

Shaykh Sambas, "in addition to training the most influential Sufi *ᶜulamā'*, also trained leading *ᶜulamā'* on *Fiqh* and *Tafsīr* such as Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Karīm who was his disciple and his successor as leader of the combined *ṭarīqa.* Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Karīm was famous as Kiyai Agung, who encouraged *jihād* (holy war against the Dutch) in 1876 and then left Banten for Mecca to succeed Shaykh Khāṭib Sambas."[51]

The importance of Shaykh Sambas as a learned scholar must be stressed here because as Hurgronje pointed out, most European writers are radically mistaken in asserting that the *ᶜulamā'* were in general hostile to the *ṭarīqa* orders.[52] It is significant that

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Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963), 33. Hurgronje mentions Khāṭib Sambas as one among Nawawī's teachers (see above, p. 29). See also this thesis, below p. 51.

[48]Hurgronje, Mekka, 262.

[49]Al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism, 59.

[50]Martin van Bruinessen, "Tarekat Qādiriyah dan Ilmu Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlany di India, Kurdistan dan Indonesia". ᶜUlūmul Qur'ān 2, (1989): 72-73.

[51]Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren, 89-90.

[52]Hurgronje, Mekka, 206.

a highly regarded scholar like Shaykh Sambas, from whom almost all kiyais in Java trace their intellectual genealogy, was also a representative of a mystic order (figure 4).

Nawawī also has been interpreted as being either neutral in regard to the *ṭarīqas*, or even opposed to them. Steenbrink compares the three figures ᶜUthmān ibn ᶜAqil [?] ibn Yaḥyā al-ᶜAlawī, Nawawī al-Bantenī and Aḥmad Khāṭib Minangkabau. Like Aḥmad Khāṭib, ᶜUthmān was against the *ṭarīqa* while Nawawī was neutral. On another page Steenbrink writes that Nawawī was against the *ṭarīqa*, especially the teaching as practiced by Ismāᶜīl Minangkabau. ᶜUthmān was for the Dutch while Nawawī and Aḥmad Khāṭib were nationalists. Unlike ᶜUthmān and Aḥmad Khāṭib, Nawawī (according to Steenbrink), was really a knowledgeable man; however, the three of them shared similar attitudes about the need for reformation of Islam in Indonesia.[53] Nawawī in fact recommends ᶜUthmān's work *Al-Naṣīḥa ᶜalā Niqāt* in a passage quoted by Steenbrink:

> Ini kitab *Al-Naṣīḥa ᶜalā Niqāt* tinggi segala kedudukannya, sahih segala maknanya, bagaimana ia tiada begitu, sebab ia kumpul daripada perkaraan ulama besar-besar. Adapun orang-orang yang mengambil tarekat, jikalau ada perkataan dan perbuatan mereka itu mufakat pada *syaraᶜ* Nabi Muhammad sebagaimana ahli-ahli tarekat yang benar, maka *maqbul;* dan jika tiada begitu maka tentulah seperti yang telah jadi banyak didalam anak-anak murid Syekh Ismail Minangkabau. Maka bahwasanya mereka itu bercela akan *zikir* Allah dengan (...) dan mereka itu bercela-cela akan orang yang tiada masuk didalam tarekat. Mereka itu hingga, bahwasanya mereka itu menegah akan mengikut bersembahyang padanya dan bercampur makan padanya dan mereka itu benci padanya istimewa pada bahwasanya syekh Ismail itu hanyasanya mengambil ia akan tarekat itu: asalnya karena kumpul harta buat bayar segala hutangnya. Maka ia di dalam asal itu mau jual agama dengan dunia adanya. Ini salinan teks Syekh Nawawī itu...[54]

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[53]Karel A. Steenbrink, Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad 19 (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984), 134, 136, 143, 147, 185. Concerning ᶜUthmān see above p. 24.

[54]Ibid., 184-185. Prof. Steenbrink explained to me (personal interview) that the passage is copied in a collection of letters [in Latin script] from Mekka preserved in the National archives in Jakarta. Concerning Shaykh Ismāᶜīl Minangkabau, actually was a preacher of the *ṭarīqa Naqshabandiyya Khālidiyya* in Minangkabau, he took the *baiᶜa* from *Quṭb al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn al-ᶜĀlim al-ᶜĀmil wa al-ᶜĀrif al-Kāmil al-Sayyid* Abī ᶜAbd Allāh al-Shaykh ᶜAbd Allāh Afandī al-Khālidī. He wrote *Kifāyat al-Ghulām fī Bayān arkān al-Islām wa Shurūtuh and Risāla Muqārana ᶜUrfiyya wa Tawzīᶜiyya wa Kamāliyya* . See also H. W. Muḥammad Shaghir Abdullah, Syeikh Ismail al-Minangkabawi penyiar Thariqat Naqshabandiyah Khalidiyah (Solo: Ramadhani, 1985), 5, 29. Van Bruinessen states that the Shaykh introduced this *ṭarīqa* in the early 1850. See also Martin van

Steenbrink seems to suggest that Nawawī was against the *ṭarīqas*, based on his interpretation of Nawawī's recommendation. Such a suggestion, however, is difficult to accept in light of the fact that Nawawī identifies himself as a *Qādiriyya* follower.[55] Moreover, the recommendation can also be interpreted to mean that Nawawī still accepted the *ṭarīqas* on the condition that they based themselves on the *sunna* of the Prophet Muḥammad peace be upon him.

Thus it is important to point out that "although Shaykh Nawawī did not follow Shaykh Sambas in leading a *ṭarīqa* order, he nevertheless did not abandon his intellectual and spiritual commitment to his master. Nawawī was not against *ṭarīqa* practices so long as they did not deviate from the Islamic teachings. This may explain why his name is still cited among the kiyais in Java."[56]

In addition to the names attributed to Nawawī in his work, *Bahjat al-Wasā'il*, there are the nisbahs Al-Shāfiᶜī and Al-Qādirī which indicate that his school of law was Shāfiᶜi and that his *ṭarīqa* was *Qādiriyya*.[57] It should also be noted that in his *Nihāyat al-Zayn*, Nawawī states that he follows al-Ashᶜarī in theology.[58]

Bruinessen, "The Origin and Development of the Naqshabandi order in Indonesia" Der Islam. Band 67 Heft 1, (1990): 161.

[55]Nawawī al-Bantenī, Bahjat al-Wasā'il bi Sharh [al-] Masā'il (Shirka al-Nūr Asia), 2.

[56]Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren, 89.

[57]Nawawī al-Bantenī, Bahjat al-Wasā'il, 2.

[58]Nawawī al-Bantenī, Nihāyat al-Zayn fī Irshād al-Mubtadi'īn (Bandung: al-Maᶜārif), 3.

Nawawī's paternal ancestry:

Muḥammad p.b.u.h
sayyidatunā Fāṭimah
sayyidunā Ḥusayn
Imam ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿAbidīn
Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir
Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq
[Mūsā al-Kāẓim]
Imam ʿAlī al-Riḍā'
Imam Muḥammad al-Taqī
Imam ʿAlī al-Naqī
Imam Aḥmad al-Muhājir ilā Allāh
Imam ʿUbaid Allāh
Imam Sayyid ʿAlawiy
Sayyid Muḥammad
Sayyid ʿAlawiy
Sayyid ʿAlī Khāliʿ Qasim
Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣāhib Mirbaṭ
Sayyid ʿAlawiy
Amīr ʿAbd al-Malik
Abd Allāh ʿAẓmah Khān
Sayyid Aḥmad Shāh Jalāl
Maulānā Jamāl al-Dīn Akbar Ḥusayn
Ali Nūr al-Dīn
Raja Amat al-Dīn Abd Allāh
Maulānā Sharīf Hidāyat Allāh
Maulānā Ḥasan al-Dīn
Ki Tāj al-ʿArash
Ki Maswiy
Ki Masnūn
Ki Maskūn
Ki Masbūgil
Ki Janta
Ki Jamād
Kyai ʿAlī
Kyai ʿArabī
Kyai ʿUmar

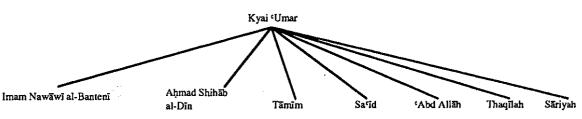



Fig.1 Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 11-12.

Nawawī's maternal ancestry:

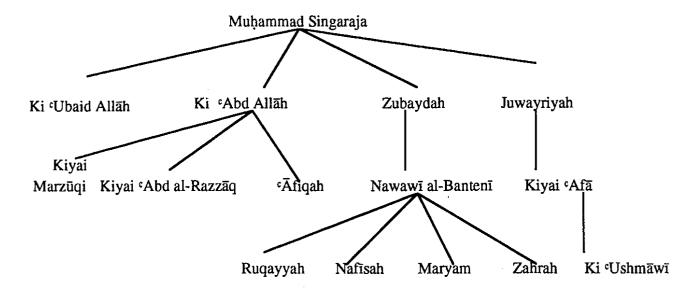



Fig.2 Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 13.

Nawawī's descendants:

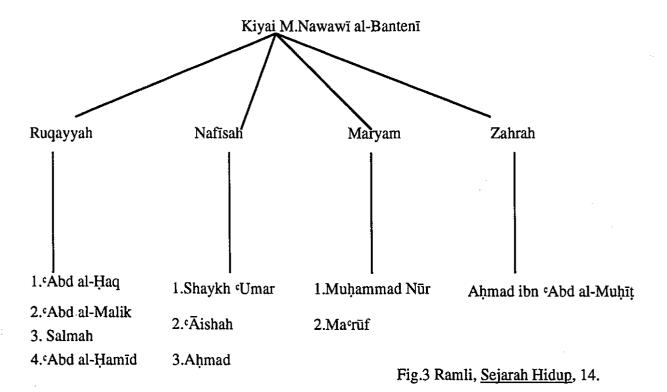
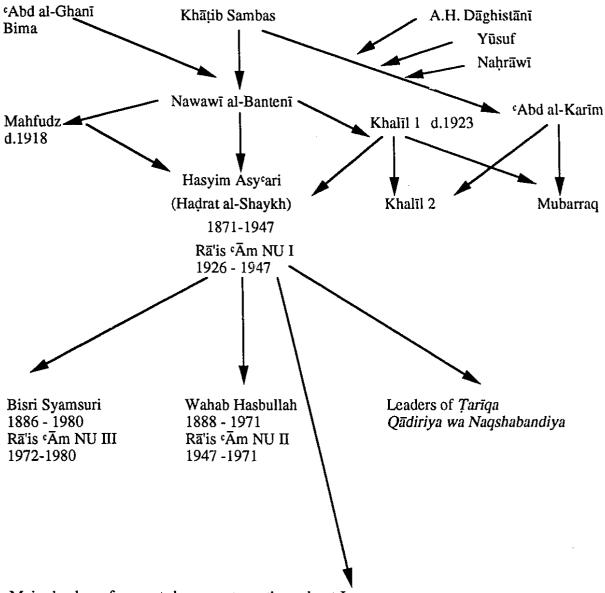
Fig.3 Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 14.

An Intellectual Genealogy of Java's leading Kiyai :

1. Kyai Khalil of Pesantren Bangkalan, Madura.
2. Kyai Khalil of Pesantren Peterongan, Jombang.

fig. 4 Dhofier, The Pesantren, 124.

B. Classification of Nawawī's works.

Nawawī was a very prolific writer of Arabic. Brockelmann cites 40 of his works, and classifies them into seven different fields of Islamic teaching.[59] J. A. Sarkis mentions 39 of Nawawī's works in his book *Dictionary of Arabic Printed Books,* (Cairo 1928), 362, as does K. H. Saifuddin Zuhri in his book *Sejarah Kebangkitan Islam dan Perkembangannya di Indonesia,* (Bandung: Al-Maᶜārif, 1981), 116. H. Rafiuddin Ramli and Chaidar have both stated that Nawawī wrote more than one hundred works.[60]
The most important among Nawawī's works are listed as follows, in accordance with Brockelmann's scheme of seven fields:[61]

1. In the field of *tafsīr,* Nawawī expounded the Qur'ān in his *Marāḥ Labīd li Kashf Maᶜnā* [*al-*] *Qur'ān* [*al-*] *Majīd,* also known as *al-Tafsīr al-Munīr li Maᶜālim al-Tanzīl al-Musfir ᶜan Wujūh Maḥāsin al-Ta'wīl,* Cairo 1305 A. H."[62]

2. "In the field of *fiqh* Nawawī annotated the *Fatḥ al-Qarīb* of Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Ghazzī (d. 918 A. H.), a commentary on Abū Shujāᶜ al-Iṣfahānī's *al-Taqrīb.* This annotated work was printed under two different titles: *al-Tawshīḥ* (Cairo 1305 A. H., 1310), and *Qūt al-Ḥabīb* (Cairo 1301, 1305, 1310 A. H.)"[63] and was reprinted in Indonesia under the title *Tawshīḥ ᶜalā Ibn Qāsim Qūt al-Ḥabīb al-Gharīb,* by Maktaba wa Maṭbaᶜa Toha Putra, Semarang no date). Nawawī also wrote a commentary on al-Ghazālī's

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[59]C. Brockelmann, Al-Nawawī, 885.

[60]Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 8. See also Chaidar, Sejarah Pujangga Islam , 41.

[61]C. Brockelmann, Al-Nawawī, 885. Most of the bibliographical details in what follows are taken from Brockelmann's article on al-Nawawī.

[62]Ibid., 885. cf. GAL S II, 814. *Marāḥ Labīd* ... is the title given by Nawawī himself. See Nawawī al-Bantenī, Marāḥ Labīd, Vol. 1 (Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-ᶜArabiyya, 1305 A. H.), 2.

[63]C. Brockelmann, al-Nawawī, 885.

Bidāyat al-Hidāya under the title *Marāqī al-ᶜUbūdiyya* (Būlāq 1293, 1309; Cairo 1294, 1304, 1307, 1308, 1319, 1327 A. H.)[64], reprinted in Semarang, Indonesia, (no date). "On the *Manāqib al-Ḥajj* of Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Shirbīnī al-Khaṭīb (d. 977 A. H./1570 A.D.) Nawawī wrote *al-Fatḥ al-Mujīb* (Būlāq 1276, 1292; Cairo 1297, 1298, 1306; Mekka 1316). On the *Safīnat al-Ṣalāḥ* of ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā al-Ḥaḍramī he wrote the *Sullam al-Munājāt* (Būlāq 1297; Cairo 1301, 1307)."[65]

Nawawī also wrote a commentary entitled *al-ᶜIqd al-Thamīn* (Cairo 1300 A. H.) on the work *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn Naẓm Muqaddima al-Zāhid,* a verse rendering by the Indonesian scholar Muṣṭafā ibn ᶜUthmān al-Jāwī al-Qārūtī of the 601 questions of Abū al-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān Al-Qāhirī Shihāb al-Dīn al-Zāhid al-Shāfiᶜī (d. 819 A. H.). The *Safīnat al-Najā* of Sālim ibn Samīr of Shiḥr in Ḥaḍramawt, which was completed in Batavia, was commented upon by Nawawī in a work entitled *Kāshifat al-Sajā,* (Cairo 1292, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1305; Būlāq 1309, [66] reprinted in Indonesia by Maktabat al-ᶜIdrūs [=al-ᶜAydarūs], no date).

3. In the field of dogmatics Nawawī wrote several commentaries, among them are *Dharīᶜāt al-Yaqīn,* a commentary on al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn* (d. 892 A. H.), and *Nūr al-Ẓalām,* a commentary on the *ᶜAqīdat al-ᶜAwāmm* of Aḥmad al-Marzūqī al-Mālikī al-Makkī [67] (Cairo 1303, Mecca 1311 A. H. reprinted in Indonesia by Maktaba wa Maṭbaᶜa

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[64]Ibid., 885.

[65]Ibid., 885. Martin van Bruinessen, " Kitab Kuning: Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu" in Bijdragen tot de Instituut voor Taal-hand-en Volkenkunde, Deel 146, (1990): 249. He gives al-Ḥaḍramī's name in full as ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar al-Ḥaḍramī the same as Brockelmann in his GAL SI, 172 but in GAL SII, 814 the name appears as ᶜAbd Allāh ibn ᶜUmar ibn Yaḥyā al-Ḥaḍramī.

[66]C. Brockelmann, al-Nawawī, 885. See also Martin van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, 249.

[67]Ibid., 885.

Toha Putra Semarang, no date). The latter work (*Nūr al-Zalām*) was translated into Javanese by Bisri Mustofā Rembang and into Madurese by ᶜAbd al-Majīd Tamīm of Pamekasan.[68] Nawawī wrote *Tījān al-Darārī*, a commentary on Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī's *Risāla fī ᶜIlm al-Tawḥīd* (Cairo 1301, 1309; Mekka 1329, reprinted in Indonesia by Maktaba wa Maṭbaᶜat al-Hidāya, Surabaya, no date), and also composed a commentary on the *Masā'il* of Imām Abī al-Layth Naṣr ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanafī al-Samarqandī entitled *Qaṭr al-Ghayth Sharḥ Masā'il Abī al-Layth* (Cairo 1301, 1303, 1309, Mekka 1311, [69]reprinted in Indonesia by Maktabat al-Hidāya, Surabaya, no date).

Nawawī also wrote a commentary on "the anonymous *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān* which he entitled *Ḥilyat al-Ṣibyān,* published in a *Majmūᶜa*, (Mekka 1304), as well as a *sharḥ* on the *al-Durr al-Farīd fī ᶜIlm al-Tawḥīd* of his teacher Aḥmad al-Naḥrāwī, entitled *Fatḥ al-majīd,* (Cairo 1298, reprinted in Indonesia by Maktaba Usaha Keluarga, no date under the fuller title *Fatḥ al-Majīd Sharḥ al-Durr al-Farīd fī ᶜAqā'id Ahl al-Tawḥīd*).[70] On the work of Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān Ḥasb Allāh entitled *al-Riyāḍ al-Badīᶜa fī Uṣūl al-Dīn wa Baᶜḍ Furūᶜ al-Sharīᶜa,* Nawawī wrote the commentary *al-Thimār al-Yāniᶜa,* (Cairo 1299, 1308, 1329; Būlāq 1302 A. H., reprinted in Indonesia by Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-ᶜArabiyya, no date).

4. In the field of mysticism, Nawawī wrote a commentary on the *Manẓūma Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā' ilā Ṭarīq al-Awliyā'* of Zayn al-Dīn al-Malībarī (d. 928 A. H.) entitled *Salālim al-Fuḍalā '*, (Cairo 1301, Mecca 1315, reprinted in Indonesia by *Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-*

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[68]Van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, 252.

[69]C. Brockelmann, al-Nawawī, 885. See also GAL SII, 814.

[70]Ibid., 885. See also Martin van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, 252. Van Bruinessen does not seem to realize that Aḥmad Naḥrāwī was one among Nawawī's teachers as pointed out by Hurgronje, Brockelmann See above pp. 28-29) and Nawawī himself. See Nawawī al-Bantenī, Salālim al-Fuḍalā', 85. See also Nawawī al-Bantenī, Fatḥ al-Majīd, 2. He cites *shaykhī wa sayyidī Aḥmad al-Naḥrāwī.*

ᶜ*Arabiyya*, no date). There are Javanese translations and commentaries on *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā'* by Saleh Darat (*Minhāj al-Atqiyā'*) and by ᶜAbd al-Jalīl Ḥamīd al-Qandalī (*Tuḥfat al-Aṣfiyā'*), as well as an interlinear Madurese translation by ᶜAbd al-Majīd Tamīm of Pamekasan.[71] On al-Malībarī's *Manẓūma fī Shuᶜab al-Īmān* , Nawawī wrote the *Qāmiᶜ al-Ṭughyān*, (Cairo 1296, reprinted in Indonesia by *Maktaba wa Maṭbaᶜa* Usaha Keluarga, Semarang, no date). On the *al-Manhaj al-Atamm fī Tabwīb al-Ḥikam* [72] of ᶜAlī ibn Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Hindī (d. 975 A. H.)[73] Nawawī wrote *Miṣbāḥ al-Ẓulam*, (Mekka 1314 A. H.)[74]

5. Nawawī's commentaries on stories of the life of the Prophet may be classed as edifying popular literature; he wrote one such work on the *Mawlid al-Nabī*, also known as *al-ᶜArūs*, (Cairo 1926), which is ascribed to both Ibn al-Jawzī, and to Aḥmad ibn al-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī, entitled *Fatḥ al-Ṣamad al-ᶜĀlim ᶜalā Mawlid al-Shaykh Aḥmad ibn al-Qāsim wa al-Bulūgh al-Fawzī li Bayān Alfāẓ Mawlid ibn al-Jawzī*, (Būlāq 1292,[75] reprinted by Shirka Piramid, Surabaya, Indonesia, no date). This work was also published under the titles *Bughyat al-ᶜAwāmm fī Sharḥ Mawlid Sayyid al-Anām li ibn al-Jawzī*, (Cairo 1927) or *Fatḥ al-Ṣamad al-ᶜĀlim ᶜalā Mawlid al-Shaykh Aḥmad ibn Qāsim*, (Mekka 1306). Nawawī himself mentions that he gave two titles to this *sharḥ* .[76] Nawawī also commented

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[71]Van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, 259.

[72]C. Brockelmann, GAL SII, 519. In Brockelmann in his article "al-Nawawī" in Encyclopedia of Islam, 885, transliterates the title of al-Hindi's work as *al-Manhaj al-Atamm fī Tabwīb al-Ḥukm*, See also Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 10.

[73]C. Brockelmann, GAL S II, 518. and G II, 503. (His full name was ᶜAlāᶜal-dīn ᶜAlī ibn Ḥusām al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Malik ibn Qāḍihān al-Muttaqī al-Hindī al-Qādirī al-Shādhilī al-Madanī. He wrote some 20 works, e.g. *al-Burhān fī ᶜalāmāt mahdi ākhir al-Ẓamān, Manhaj al-ᶜUmmāl fī sunan al-Aqwāl wa al-Afᶜāl, Asrār al-ᶜĀrifīn wa Siyar al-Ṭālibīn, al-ᶜUnwān fī sulūk al-Niswān*, etc.

[74]C. Brockelmann, GAL S II, 519. See also C. Brockelmann, al-Nawawī, 885 and see also Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 10. Brockelmann refers to the title as *Miṣbāḥ al-Ẓulm*, while Ramli cites it (in Arabic script) as *Miṣbāḥ al-Ẓalām*.

[75]C. Brockelmann, al-Nawawī, 885.

[76]Nawawī al-Bantenī, Fatḥ al-Ṣamad al-ᶜĀlim ᶜalā Mawlid al-Shaykh Aḥmad ibn al-Qāsim wa al-Bulūgh al-Fawzī li Bayān al-Fāẓ Mawlid ibn al-Jawzī (Surabaya: Shirka Piramid), 6.

on the *Mawlid* of Jaᶜfar ibn Ḥasan ibn ᶜAbd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Khādim ibn Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn al-Barzanjī al-Madanī (d. 1179 A. H.) in a work entitled *Targhīb al-Mushtāqīn li Bayān Manẓūmāt Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn al-Barzanjī,* (Cairo 1292, Mekka 1311; See GAL SII, 517), and a second time in a work entitled *Madārij al-Suᶜūd ilā Iktisā' al-Burūd* (Būlāq 1296, reprinted in Indonesia by Maktaba wa Maṭbaᶜa Toha Putra, Semarang, no date). On Barzanjī's *al-Khaṣāiṣ al-Nabawiyya* Nawawī wrote a commentary entitled *al-Durar al-Bahiyya* (Būlāq 1299). Nawawī made an excerpt from al-Qasṭallānī's (d. 923 A.H.) *Mawlid* entitled *al-Ibrīz al-Dānī fī Mawlīd Sayyidinā Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-ᶜAdnānī,* (Cairo 1299).[77]

6. In the field of Arabic grammar Nawawī wrote a commentary on the *al-Ajurrūmiyya* , the work of Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Dāwud al-Ṣanhājī ibn al-Ajurrūm (d. 723 A. H.), entitled *Kashf al-Murūṭiya ᶜan Sitār al-Ajurrūmiyya,* (Cairo 1308; See GAL SII, 332). Another commentary on al-Ajurrūm's versification was *Fatḥ Ghāfir al-Khaṭiyya ᶜalā al-Kawākib al-Jaliyya fī Naẓm al-Ajurrūmiyya* (Būlāq 1298). On ᶜAbd al-Munᶜim ᶜIwaḍ al-Jirjāwī's *al-Rawḍa al-Bahīyya fī al-Abwāb al-Taṣrīfīyya* he wrote a commentary entitled *al-Fusūṣ al-Yāqūṭiyya,* (Cairo 1299).[78]

7. In the field of rhetoric Nawawī completed a commentary (in 1293 A. H.) on the *Risālat al-Istiᶜārāt* of Ḥusayn al-Nawawī al-Mālikī entitled *Lubāb al-Bayān fī ᶜIlm al-Bayān,* (Cairo 1301).

Additional works of Nawawī as cited by Ramli are:

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[77]C. Brockelmann, Al-Nawawī, 885.

[78]Ibid., 885.

1. *Tanqīḥ al-Qawl al-Ḥathīth* , a commentary on *Lubāb al-Ḥadīth* of Jalāl al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī, reprinted in Indonesia by Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-ᶜArabiyya (no date).[79]

2. *Nihāyat al-Zayn,* a commentary on *Qurrat al-ᶜAyn bi-Muhimmāt al-Dīn* of Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz al-Malībārī (GAL SII, 814), reprinted in Indonesia by Shirka al-Maᶜārif, Bandung (no date).

3. *Naṣāiḥ al-ᶜIbād,* a commentary on *al-Munabbihāt ᶜalā al-Istiᶜdād li-Yawm al-Maᶜād* of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad al-ᶜAsqalānī, reprinted in Indonesia by Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-ᶜArabiyya, (no date).

4. *Al-Futūḥāt al-Madaniyya* .[80]

5 *Bahjat al-Wasā'il bi Sharḥ al-Masā'il* (Cairo 1289, 1292 a commentary on *al-Risālat al-Jāmiᶜah bayna Uṣūl al-Dīn wa al-Fiqh wa al-Taṣawwuf* of Sayyid Aḥmad ibn Zaynī al-Ḥabashī, reprinted in Indonesia by Shirka al-Nūr Asia, (no date).

6. *ᶜUqūd al-Lujayn fī Bayān Ḥuqūq al-Zawjayn.* (GAL SII, 814 verification 1294, Cairo 1296, 1297, 1331, Mekka 1316).

7. *Al-Riyāḍ al-Fawliyya* .

8. *Sulūk al-Jādda* .

9. *Al-Nahja al-Jayyida* .

10. *Fatḥ al-ᶜĀrifīn.*[81]

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[79]See also Van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, 255.

[80]Nawawī al-Bantenī, Al-Futūḥāt al-Madaniyya (Indonesia: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-ᶜArabiyya, no date), 2. The commentary on the branches of faith (*Shuᶜab al-Īmān*) is taken from *al-Nuqāya* of al-Suyūṭī and from *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* of Muḥammad ibn ᶜAlī Muḥy al-Dīn Ibn ᶜArabī. *Al-Futūḥāt al-Madaniyya* was printed in the margin side of *Naṣā'iḥ al-ᶜIbād.*

[81]Ramli, Sejarah Hidup 8-10. Ramli perhaps wrongly attributed this work to Nawawī because in other sources *Fatḥ al-ᶜĀrifīn* was considered the work of Aḥmad Khaṭīb Sambas. See Hawash Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawwuf dan Tokoh-tokohnya di Nusantara (Surabaya: Al-Ikhlas, 1980), 182. See also H. M. Zurkani Yaḥyā, "Asal Usul Thoriqot Qodiriyah Naqshabandiyah dan Perkembangannya," in Thoriqot Qodiriyah Naqshabandiyah Sejarah, Asal Usul dan

C. General remarks concerning some of Nawawī's works.

Some observations can be made regarding the vast range of Nawawī's works. Martin van Bruinessen has commented that "Nawawī has written on virtually every aspect of Islamic learning, most of them being commentaries on standard works. His tendency was to explain them in simple terms. He is perhaps best described as a popularizer of, rather than a contributor to learned discourse."[82] Although Nawawī seems not to have been a specialist in any particular field of Islamic teaching, it is nevertheless a fact that in Nawawī's time the trend of the intellectual Muslim tradition was not to specialize in any one specific discipline as is the case today. This trend continued until the middle of the 14th century Hijrah.[83]

Van Bruinessen says that there appears to be almost no original work by Nawawī, with the possible exception of Nawawī's *Tafsīr Munīr*. He further states that Nawawī was probably the last commentator of the Qur"ān of his generation, before the reformation by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Muḥammad ᶜAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā.[84]

According to A. Asnawi, *Tafsīr Munīr,* although not very radical, brought the Muslim community into the modern era. Because Nawawī refers in his introduction to *al-Munīr* to the works *Al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyya* of Sulaymān al-Jamal (d. 1790 A. D. see GAL SII, 180, 480), *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209 A. D. see GAL SI, 922), *al-Sirāj al-Munīr* of al-Shirbīni (d. 1570 A. D. see GAL SII, 441) and *Irshād al-ᶜAql al-Salīm* of Abū Suᶜūd (d. 1574 A. D. see GAL SII, 651), Asnawi concludes that *al-Munīr* is an analytical, comparative *tafsīr*. However, Nawawī also referred in his *tafsīr*

Perkembangannya ed. by Harun Nasution (Tasikmalaya: Institut Agama Islam Latifah Mubarokiyah, 1990), 84. See also Al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism 35, 59.

[82]Van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, 236.

[83]Mustafa Helmy et al. "Kiyai Nawawī dari Tanara". Editor 41 (11 Juni 1988): 43.

[84]as quoted by Mustafa Helmy, Ibid., 43.

to*Tanwīr al-Miqbās*[85], a work of al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 1415 A. D. GAL SII, 235) which is compiled based on *Ḥadīth* from Ibn ᶜAbbās.[86]

From the results of Dr. Martin van Bruinessen's research on the pesantren (religious schools), it can be seen that the works of Nawawī still dominate the curriculum of 42 pesantrens. Shaykh Nawawī is recognized as a link between the classical intellectual period of the central Islamic world and Indonesia.[87] The works of Nawawī are also taught in religious schools in Mindanao (Southern Philippines), Thailand and in Malaysia as well. His books have spread his influence in Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia. According to Ray Salam T. Mangondanan, a researcher in the Institute of Islamic Studies, University of the Philippines, there are about forty religious schools in the southern Philippines which still use the traditional curriculum. In addition Sulayman Yassin, a lecturer in the Faculty of Islamic Studies of Kebangsaan University in Malaysia, studied Nawawī's work during the period 1950-1958 in Johor and in many other religious schools in Malaysia.[88]

D. Conclusion.

Observing Nawawī's life and education, it is clear that to study and to stay in the Holy Land was the chief goal of Indonesian students of the Islamic sciences at that time. Mekka's status as the center of Islam meant that in "Javanese cosmology, they believed Mekka was a blessed place to seek knowledge and to live"[89].

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[85]Nawawī, Marāh Labīd, vol. 1, 2.

[86]Asnawi as quoted by Aḥmadi Thaha, et. al. "Nawawī di Terminal Penerang," Tempo (18 Juni 1988), 80.

[87]Van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, 239. See also Mustafa Helmy, et al. "Kiyai Nawawī dari Tanara." Editor 41 (11 Juni 1988): 43.

[88]Budiman S.Hartoyo, eds. "Dua Nawāwī dan Kawan-kawan". Tempo (27 Juni 1987): 89.

[89]Martin van Bruinessen, "Mencari Ilmu dan Pahala di Tanah Suci," ᶜUlūmul Qur'ān 5, vol 2, (1990): 42.

Nawawī can be considered to have made important contributions to the study of the Islamic sciences in Indonesia particularly in the areas of Arabic grammar, *fiqh, uṣūl al-dīn*, Qur'ānic exegesis, *ḥadīth, taṣawwuf* and life histories of the Prophet. His books are available throughout the country and are studied in the pesantrens. This is perhaps because of the authoritative nature of his work.

In relation to Sufism, although he was not a leader of a *ṭarīqa* it is obvious that he considered himself to be a Sufi of the *Qādiriyya* order (*Bahjat al-Wasā'il*, 2). In fact Dhofier and Hurgronje[90] insist that Shaykh Aḥmad Khāṭib Sambas, the founder of the *ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya*, was one among Nawawī's teachers (although, surprisingly, I have not yet found any reference to this fact in Nawawī's own works). His works on Sufism, *Salālim al-Fuḍalā', Qāmiᶜ al-Ṭughyān* and *Miṣbāḥ al-Ẓulam*, are evidence of his interest in the field of Sufism. When he quotes Malībarī's conclusion that *taṣawwuf* is the only way to achieve the goal (*Salālim*, 4), we can no longer be in doubt as to his interest.

[90]Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren, 87-89. See also Hurgronje, Mekka, 268.

Chapter III

The Mystical Aspect of Nawawī al-Bantenī's Thought

A. A Summary of *Manẓūma Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā' ilā Ṭarīq al-Awliyā'*

As was mentioned earlier (p. 45-46), Brockelmann lists three among Nawawī's works as being mystical in content: *Misbāḥ al-Ẓulam, Qāmiᶜ al-Ṭughyān* and *Salālim al-Fuḍalā'*. Among these, only the latter two are available to me. Both *Qāmiᶜ* and *Salālim* are commentaries on works written by Zayn al-Dīn ibn ᶜAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Maᶜbarī al-Malībarī (d. 928 A. H./ 1522 A. D.).[1] *Qāmiᶜ*, a commentary on Malībarī's *Shuᶜab al-Īmān* is, however, limited to a discussion of 77 branches of faith and belongs more to the field of religious ethics. *Salālim*, a commentary on Malībarī's poem *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā' ilā Ṭarīq al-Awliyā'* by contrast, deals with a wide range of mystical themes and concepts. I have therefore chosen to take this commentary as the basis of my study. There can be no doubt as to the definite Sufi nature of this work, given that Nawawī himself relates al-Malībarī's reason for composing *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā'* as follows:

> The reason that the poet composed the verses is that he was unsure as to what science he should occupy himself with: should he study *fiqh* and the like, or *taṣawwuf* such as *ᶜAwārif* [*ᶜAwārif al-Maᶜārif* of Suhrawardī] and the like. Then he had a dream on Tuesday night, 24 Shaᶜbān 914 A. H., a dream in which someone told him that it is better to study *taṣawwuf*. For a

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[1]C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur, Supplement-band II, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1938), 311. Brockelmann mentions the following works of al-Malībarī's: *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā' ilā Ṭarīq al-Awliyā'; Manzūma fī Shuᶜab al-Īmān; Irshād al-Awliyā'; and Irshād al-Alibbā' ilā mir'āt al-Adhkiyā'.* Nawawī mentions that al-Malībarī wrote *Tuḥfat al-Aḥibbā', Irshād al-Qāṣidīn* (a summary of *Minhāj al-ᶜĀbidīn*) and *Shuᶜab al-Īmān a* summary of *Shuᶜab al-Īmān* which was written in Persian by Nūr al-Dīn al-Ījī. See Nawawī al-Bantenī, Salālim al-Fuḍalā' (Indonesia: Dār al-Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-ᶜArabiyya), n. d. 4. Nawawī also points out that the poet (Zayn al-Dīn I) was born in Kushan on Thursday, 12 Shaᶜbān in 871 or 872 A. H. and died on Thursday night, 16 Shaᶜbān in 928 A. H. In *Qāmiᶜ*, Nawawī al-Bantenī cites *Tuḥfat al-Iḥyā'* as being one of al-Malībarī's works not *Tuḥfat al-Aḥibbā'*. See Nawawī, Qāmiᶜ al-Tughyān,(Semarang: Usaha Keluarga, n. d.), 3. In addition to *Salālim* and *Qāmīᶜ*, Nawawī also wrote a commentary on al-Malībarī's *Qurratal-ᶜAyn* entitled *Nihāyatal-Zayn fī Irshād al-Mubtadi'īn*; see Brockelmann. GAL II, 417, and Supplement-band II, 811. See also Nawawī, Nihāyat al-Zayn fī Irshād al-Mubtadi'īn (Bandung: al-Maᶜārif), 3. See also Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning: Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Millieu" in Bijdragen Tot de Taal-,land-en Volkenkunde (1990): 247.

> swimmer in the river, if he wants to traverse from one shore to the other, in order to reach his goal he has to swim [against] the direction in which the water flows, [he has to swim]...upstream.... He does not swim directly across, [for] if he does he will not achieve his goal but he will be [swept by the current] and stopped [at a place] downstream. He [al-Malībarī] understood from this that occupying oneself with *taṣawwuf* will bring someone to his goal while occupying oneself with *Fiqh* and the like will not allow one to arrive at one's goal. After having this vision al-Malībarī composed the poem.[2]

As Nawawī al-Bantenī (*Salālim*, 3) points out, the *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā' ilā Ṭarīq al-Awliyā'* is composed of 188 verses in the metre *kāmil*. Its content may be summarized as follows:

1) Verses 1 - 2 (after the *basmala*): *Ḥamdala* and *ṣalawāt*.

2) Verse 3: God-fearing (*taqwā*) as opposed to its contrary "following one's desire" (*ahwā*).

3) Verses 4 - 15: The meaning of *sharīᶜa, ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*.

4) Verses 16 - 75: Nine recommendations (*waṣāyā*) for those searching for the path of the friends of God (*ṭarīq al-awliyā'*):

16 - 22: Repentance (*al-tawba*).

23 - 24: Satisfaction (*al-qanāᶜa*).

25 - 30: Asceticism (*al-zuhd*).

31 - 32: Learning the Islamic sciences (*taᶜallum al-ᶜilm al-sharᶜī*).

33 - 41: Observing the Prophet's tradition (*al-muḥāfaẓa ᶜalā al-sunan*) (with reference to Suhrawardī's *ᶜAwārif al-Maᶜārif* in verse 34 and Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī's *Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn* in verse 38).

42 - 44: Trust in God (*al-tawakkul*).

45 - 52: Purity of intention (*al-ikhlāṣ*).

53 - 61: Isolation (*al-ᶜuzla*).

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[2]Nawawī, Salālim, 4.

62 - 75: Preserving the moment (i. e. using every moment for a religious purpose) (*ḥifẓ al-awqāt*).

5) Verses 76 - 77: Five ways to cure the heart (*dawā' al-qalb*) which are: reciting the Qur'ān (*tilāwat al-Qur'ān*), fasting (*ikhlā' al-baṭn*), performing the night prayer (*qiyām al-layl*), performing the prayer at *sahr* time (*al-taḍarruᶜ bi al-sahr*) and gathering with good people (*mujālasāt al-ṣāliḥīn*).[3]

6) Verses 78 - 165: A number of themes are discussed in loose sequence (apparently following the daily hours).

78 - 89: On the virtues required of a Qur'ānic reader (with reference to Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī's *Tibyān* in verse 89).

90 - 91: *Ṣalāt Ḍuḥā'* and remembering death.

92 - 146: On learning and study (during the morning).

92 - 107: The importance of religious learning; the status of the *ᶜālim* compared to that of the *ᶜābid* (verse 93).

108 - 113: Five signs denoting the seeker of knowledge with wrong intentions.

114 - 128: Seven characteristics of the knower of the Hereafter (*ᶜālim al-ukhrā*).

129 - 132: Six inner natural good qualities of a leader like al-Shāfiᶜī.

133: The importance of beneficial knowledge for happiness in the present world and in the Hereafter.

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[3]According to Nawawī these two verses are taken from a saying of Ibrāhīm al-Khawwāṣ (d. 291/904) as mentioned in al-Tibyān. See Abū Zakariyya Yaḥya ibn Sharaf al-Dīn al-Nawawī al-Shāfiᶜī. Al-Tibyān fī Ādāb Hamalat al-Qur'ān (Dār al-Fikr: 1974), 46. See also Abū al-Qāsim ᶜAbd al-Karīm Ibn Hawāzin al-Qushayrī, Risāla al-Qushayriyya (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ᶜArabī, 1957), 24.

134: Teaching (the beneficial knowledge) as the best worship (*ᶜibāda*), the best successorship (*khilāfa*) and inheritance of the prophet (*wirātha*).

135 - 141: Advice on how to study.

142 - 144: Eight branches of knowledge of the Arabic language.

145 - 146: A warning that one should not be fooled by logic and theology and study the *Iḥyā' ᶜUlūm al-Dīn* of al-Ghazālī instead.

147 - 157: *Ādāb* regarding eating, drinking, free time for prayer or study and sleeping (with reference to Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī's *Kitāb al-Adhkār* in verse 155).

158 - 160: Night Prayer (*ṣalāt al-tahajjud*).

161 - 162: The harmfulness of thinking of the present life (*dunyā*).

163 - 165: What one can and cannot do between the prayer after sunset (*maghrib*) and the evening prayer (*ᶜishā'*).

7) Verses 166 - 171: *Tadhkira* (memento), on prayer, Qur'ān reading and *dhikr* (for those entirely free of wordly concerns).

8) Verses 172 - 175: *Mahamma* (important note), in which two concepts are discussed:

172 - 174: Guarding one's breath (*ḥifẓ al-anfās*) in *dhikr*.

175: Concerning silent invocation (*dhikr khafī*).

9) Verses 176 - 178: Concerning *mujāhada* (serious effort) as a pre-condition for achievement of the special high knowledge (*maᶜrifa khāṣṣa ᶜaliyya*). Also mentioned is the struggle against one's ego (*jihād al-nafs*), i. e. the process of purifying the soul from vice and decorating it with light.

10) Verses 179 - 180: Concerning the status of the gnostic (*ᶜārif*), compared to that of the *ᶜālim*.

11) Verses 180 - 186: Al-Malībarī discusses the ways to achieve the highest goal of Sufism, i. e. contemplation (*mushāhada)* according to Suhrawardī.

12) Verses 187 - 188: Conclusion of the mystical treatise with *ḥamdala, ṣalawāt* on the Prophet Muḥammad peace be upon him and *ḥawqala.*

B. Nawawī's commentary on *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā'*: *Salālim al-Fuḍalā'*.

In this part I would like to discuss Nawawī's commentary from two perspectives: firstly, Nawawī's approach to his sources; and secondly, selected themes from *Salālim,* namely his analysis of the concept of Sufism, of the practical ways to the path of the friends of God, and finally his discussion of *dhikr* in *tadhkira* and *mahamma.*

1. Nawawī's approach to his sources.

Nawawī indicates at the end of his commentary that *Salālim* was written over the course of twenty days starting from Wednesday, 22 Rabīᶜ al-thānī and ending Tuesday, 13 Jumādā al-ūlā, 1293 A. H.[4] Another well-known commentary, the *Kifāyat al-Atkiyā' wa Minhāj al-Aṣfiyā'* of Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad Shaṭṭā' al-Dimyāṭī, was completed 9 years later on Friday 10 Jumādā al-thānī 1302 A. H.[5] Al-Dimyāṭī says in his introduction that in commenting on the poem he based himself to a large extent on a *sharḥ* entitled *Maslak al-Atqiyā' wa Minhaj al-Aṣfiyā'* written by the poet's own son.[6] Nawawī, does not mention this first commentary in his introduction. He does, however, indicate that Malībarī was "the father of Shaykh ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz" (*Salālim,* 3); and since he later (*Salālim,* 48) refers to "Shaykh ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz" in quoting a source, we may infer that he, too, had access to the

[4]Nawawī, Salālim, 120.

[5]Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad Shaṭṭa Al-Dimyāṭī, Kifāyat, al-Atqiyā' wa Minhāj al-Aṣfiyā' Indonesia: Dār al-Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-ᶜArabiyya, n. d.), 120

[6]Ibid., 3. See also C.Brockelmann GAL II, 287 and GAL SII, 312. According to Brockelmann, manuscripts of this commentary are extant in Cairo and India.

commentary written by the poet's son. This would seem the more likely as there are at least two other references to a previous commentary in Nawawī's text: in *Salālim* 5 he refers to the explanation of *ḥamdan yuwāfī birrahu* in verse 1 by "Ibn al-Muqri'"[7](= the son of the poet?) and in *Salālim* 108 he quotes an opinion of the commentator (*al-Shāriḥ*) without further identification. However, a full investigation of this question is clearly beyond the scope of this thesis as it would, of course, require access to the text of the *Maslak al-Atqiyā'* itself.

Nawawī writes his commentary on *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā'* according to the order of al-Malībarī's text. He comments from the beginning of the poem until the end continuously. He often analyzes the poem word by word from a grammatical standpoint, although not to the same extent as al-Dimyāṭī. He always supports his interpretations by referring to appropriate authorities including Qur'ānic verses, *hadīth*, sayings of the companions and sunni imāms, as well as by quoting a great number of Sufi sayings and written sources. The most important among these are those mentioned by Malībarī himself, i. e. *Iḥyā' ᶜUlūm al-Dīn* of al-Ghazālī, *ᶜAwārif al-Maᶜārif* of [Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ᶜUmar] al-Suhrawardī d. 632/1234[8], *Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn* and *Al-Adhkār* of Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī. He also refers to numerous other Sufi authorities such as Al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072 [9], the author of the *Risāla al-Qushayriyya*), ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 559/1166),[10] Ibn ᶜArabī (d. 638/1240),[11] Ibn ᶜAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309, [12] the author of *Al-Ḥikam*),

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[7]Nawawī, Salālim, 5. In the text it is printed Ibn al-Mufrī (?).

[8]Suhrawardī was the official Sufi master of Baghdad who had the title *Shaykh al-Shuyūkh*. See A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions of Islam (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 245.

[9]Nawawī, Salālim, 12, 112, 113.

[10]Ibid., 27, 31, 32.

[11]Ibid., 14, 19.

[12]Ibid., 37.

Abū Madyan (d. 590/1197 [13], the author of another *al-Ḥikam*), ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaᶜrānī (d. 973/1565),[14] Al-ᶜAydarūs ᶜAbd Allāh (d. 909/1503),[15] Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505[16], the author of *al-Nuqāya*), ᶜAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1731)[17] and others[18].

As was mentioned earlier, Shaykh ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz is quoted once in our text (*Salālim* 48) as referring to another source, namely, a work of Zayn al-Dīn al-Khawāfī (d. 838/1435) entitled *al-Risāla al-Qudsiyya* . This should probably read *Al-Waṣiyya al-Qudsiyya*, a work mentioned by L. Gardet in his article on *dhikr* in Encyclopaedia of Islam.[19]

As for Nawawī's own teachers, it should be noted that no reference is found in *Salālim* to Aḥmad Khāṭib Sambas (see above p. 51). There is one reference to Aḥmad al-Naḥrāwī, on page 85 of *Salālim*, where he explains the importance of having a teacher (Shaykh) to clarify obscurities rather than seeking explanations from books. Nawawī also refers to Yūsuf Sumbulāwīnī in the course of his discussions concerning the art of writing calligraphy (*ᶜIlm kitābat al-khaṭṭ*) on page 89, concerning marital intercourse on page 97,

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[13]Ibid., 12, 35, 46.

[14]Ibid., 106, 108, 115.

[15]Ibid., 106, 113.

[16]Ibid., 27, 30.

[17]Ibid., 12.

[18]There are unidentified sources quoted by Nawawī, such as *Tuhfat al-Khawwāṣ* of ᶜAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Jīzī (see Nawawī, Salālim, 7, 15, 25, 30, 33) and *al-Sayr wa al-Sulūk ilā Allāh* of Aḥmad al-Junayd (see Nawawī, Salālim, 11, 107).

[19]See L. Gardet, "Dhikr" in Encyclopaedia of Islam vol. 2 ed. by B. Lewis et.al. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), 226. Zayn al-Dīn al-Khawāfī was the initiator of a Turkish Suhrawardī line, the Zayniyya. See also J. Spencer Trimingham, Sufi Orders in Islam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 78. His name is mentioned by Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā as a disciple of Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Miṣrī. See ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad Jāmī, Nafaḥāt al-Uns min Ḥaḍarāt al-Quds ed. Mahdī-i Tawḥīdīpūr, 2nd ed. (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Saᶜdī, 1366 H. sh.), 492.

concerning silent invocation (*dhikr khafī)* on page 105, and concerning thinking about oneself (*ḥadīth al-nafs*) on page 106.

2. Selected themes from *Salālim al-Fuḍalā'*.

This section focuses on particular themes from *Salālim al-Fuḍalā'*. For the sake of coherence, the following exposition is organized into four categories. Firstly, we will investigate Nawawī's point of view concerning some basic Sufi concepts: *taṣawwuf, sharīᶜa, ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*. Secondly, we will try to clarify his commentary on the topics which are related to the practical ways on the path toward God. Thirdly we will discuss briefly the theme of *tadhkira* and fourthly we will conclude this section with a short discussion of *mahamma*.

2.1. Sufi concepts.

2.1.1. The meaning of *taṣawwuf*.

In the text of *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā'*, al-Malībarī says that *taṣawwuf* is tantamount to *adab* (good behaviour-education),[20] and that this should be learned from a study of [Suhrawardī's] *ᶜAwārif [al-Maᶜārif*]; for the only way to approach God is by following the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him) completely in his inner state (*ḥāl*), his actions and his sayings.[21]

In the commentary Nawawī begins by restating that *taṣawwuf* means altogether good behaviour (*adab*). He adds, however, another definition:*Taṣawwuf* signifies the emptying of the heart of all things except God and having contempt for everything else.[22] The idea of having contempt for everything except Him is a reference to the Glory of God.

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[20]On *adab* see A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, 127, 230.

[21]Al-Malībarī, Hidāyat, verses 34 - 37. For a full translation see below, p. 74.

[22]Nawawī, Salālim, 25, quoting from ᶜAlī al-Jīzī, *Tuḥfat al-Khawāṣṣ*.

Nevertheless, Nawawī states that this does not mean that one may look down on the prophets, the angels or the *ᶜulamā'*, as this course of action will cause disbelief.[23]

Nawawī explains the importance of *adab* by quoting a number of relevant Sufi sayings from Suhrawardī, such asYūsuf ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Rāzī (d.304/916): Through *adab* one will acquire knowledge; with knowledge one's actions will be good; through good acts one will achieve wisdom; with wisdom one will achieve *zuhd* ; with *zuhd* one will leave *dunyā* behind, upon leaving *dunyā* one will love the Hereafter, and with loving the Hereafter one will attain the Mercy of God.[24]

Nawawī also quotes Suhrawardī's own definitions: "*adab* is the refinement of the exterior and the interior; if one purifies one's outer and inner [aspect] one will become a Sufi of [true] education (*ṣūfiyan adīban*). Behavior/education (*adab*) will be perfect only through moral perfection, i. e. betterment of character."[25] And all behaviour or customs are learned from the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him), for he unites in himself all *ādāb*, internally and externally."[26] The latter point is seen in Prophet Muḥammad's *ādāb* when he was in the presence of God (during the Prophet's *miᶜrāj*) as stated in the Qur'ān verse 53:17: "The eye turned not aside nor yet was overbold." [27] Nawawī (summarizing Suhrawardī) explains that "neither did his inner vision lag behind, nor did his external vision anticipate the inner vision ...: both external and internal vision were straight, in heart and body together."[28]

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[23]Ibid., 25. He refers to an explanation of the above by Shaykh al-Islām Zakariyyā.

[24]Ibid., 25. See alsoᶜAbd al-Qāhir ibn ᶜAbd Allāh [*sic*, for Abū Ḥafṣ ᶜUmar] al-Suhrawardī. Kitāb ᶜAwārif al-Maᶜārif (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ᶜArabī, 1983), 276. See also Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, Ṭabaqātal-Ṣūfiyya (Ḥalab: Dār al-Kitāb al-Nafīs, 1986), 189. What is stated here is slightly different from what is stated in ᶜAwārif, i. e. the phrase *riḍa Allāh* is used instead of *raḥmat Allāh*.

[25]Nawawī, Salālim, 25; Suhrawardī, ᶜĀwārif, 275.

[26]Ibid., 26. Suhrawardī, ᶜAwārif, 281.

[27]M.M. Pickthall, The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'ān (New York: The New American Library, n. d.), 377.

[28]Nawawī, Salālim, 26; Suhrawardī, ᶜAwārif, 281-283.

Another example given by Nawawī (again following Suhrawardī) is that of the *ādāb* of the Prophet Ayyūb when he, in his prayer, called out God in the midst of his pain saying: "God You are the most forgiving." He did not say: " God forgive me." Another example is that of the Prophet ᶜIsā when he was in the presence of God, and said: "If I had said it, You would have known it." He did not say: "I did not say it." [29]These examples illustrate the etiquette of speech.

Nawawī explains (in commenting on verses 35-36) that one should seek the inner state (*ḥāl*), the actions and the sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad in order to "know" them (*maᶜrifa*). He also quotes a saying to the effect that just as the body gets its strength from food, so the mind gets its strength from "hearing *ādāb*" (*al-ādāb al-masmūᶜa*).[30]

2.1.2. *Sharīᶜa*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*.

Al-Malībarī says that the path which leads to God consists of three parts: *sharīᶜa*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*. *Sharīᶜa* is like a boat, *ṭarīqa* the sea and *ḥaqīqa* a great pearl of highest price. *Sharīᶜa* is to accept the religion of the Creator and to act in accordance with His clear orders and prohibitions; *ṭarīqa* means to follow the safest way, like piety (*al-waraᶜ*), and ascetic practice (*riyāḍa*), while *ḥaqīqa* is the arrival of the traveller at his destination and his witnessing of the light of theophany (*tajallī*).Whoever wants the pearl should ride a boat and plunge into the sea. *Ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa* without *sharīᶜa* will not yield the desired result.[31] The poet further says that one should embellish oneself with the practice of the

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[29]Nawawī, Salālim, 26. See Suhrawardī, ᶜAwārif, 285. The example of the *ādāb* of Prophet Ayyūb and Prophet ᶜIsā are taken from Qur'ānic verses: 21:83 and 5:116.

[30]Nawawī, Salālim, 26 - 27.

[31]Al-Malībarī, Hidāyat, verses 4 - 10. In fact the whole idea of verses 4 - 10 seems to be taken from Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā. See Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā. Fawā'ih al-Jamāl wa Fawātih al-Jalāl ed. F. Meier (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1957), 35. See also *Risāla al-safīna* (Annex to German part, Ibid., p. 282). (He compares a boat with *sharīᶜa*, the sea with *ṭarīqa* and the pearl with *ḥaqīqa*).

sharīᶜa to enlighten the heart and erase the darkness in order to soften the heart to accept the *ṭarīqa*.[32]

Nawawī in his commentary on these verses explains that *sharīᶜa* is practising what has been commanded and avoiding what has been forbidden. *Ṭarīqa* is following the acts and ways of the Prophet and living by them, while *ḥaqīqa* is the result (fruit) of following that path. *Sharīᶜa*, as a boat, is a means by which one can achieve one's goal, yet at the same time remain in a secure and safe haven. The *ṭarīqa* , as the sea, is the place in which the pearl is lodged and where the goal is located. The *ḥaqīqa* is like a great pearl of the highest price. The pearl can be found only in the sea, and one cannot navigate that sea without a boat.[33]

Nawawī states that *sharīᶜa* means that the seeker should ask God to grant him the religion of Islam permanently so that he will uphold His laws and avoid what He has forbidden. All the "do"s and "don't"s in matters of religion have already been made clear to people. *Ṭarīqa* is to follow the most sure way to achieve the goal, for example by practicing piety (*al-waraᶜ*; see below). *Ṭarīqa* is to stick to the hard way, the ascetic way which includes controlling bodily appetites in order to achieve moderation with respect to food, drink and sleeping habits, and also involves shunning curiosity about the permissible things and the allurements of *al-dunyā* in favour of worship of God alone. *Ḥaqīqa* is the arrival of the traveller at his goal which is the understanding of the reality of things and the witnessing of the light of theophany in complete clearness.[34]

In Nawawī's view *al-waraᶜ* (verse 7) means to stay away from what is suspicious; practicing it is the safest way to achieve the goal of the seeker who is following the *ṭarīqa*.

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[32]Al-Malībarī, Hidāyat, verses 11 - 12.

[33]Nawawī, Salālim, 8-9. The commentary on verse 6-7 is misplaced in the printed text on p. 11.

[34]Ibid., 9 - 11.

Thus a traveller (*sālik*) on the path of the *ṭarīqa* should cultivate the practice of *al-wara*ᶜ. Nawawī classifies *al-wara*ᶜ into three categories:

1) *Wara*ᶜ *al-ṣāliḥīn* is the shunning of doubtful matters (*shubha*);

2) *Wara*ᶜ *al-muttaqīn* is the leaving behind of harmless things through fear of harmful things;

3) *Wara*ᶜ *al-ṣiddīqīn* is the avoidance of all things which are not done purely for the sake of God.

As an illustration of the second kind of *wara*ᶜ, Nawawī quotes ᶜUmar as saying that he abandoned nine of ten things which are *ḥalāl* because he was afraid of falling into what was *ḥarām* with the tenth. People who follow the third kind are sincere unitarians (*al-muwaḥḥidūn al-mukhliṣūn*) who neither move nor rest except for the sake of God, who neither talk nor remain quiet unless for the sake of God, who do not eat except for the sake of *taqwā* in worshipping God, who do not sleep except for the sake of God and who do not walk except in order to help a Muslim in need.[35] With respect to cultivating piety, Nawawī in his explanations appears to be following al-Ghazālī who mentions four grades of piety (*al-wara*ᶜ).[36]

Commenting on verse 8, Nawawī describes *tajallī* as the opening of the unseen lights to the heart of gnostics (witnessing the light of theophany). This means that such persons who achieve the goal (*ḥaqīqa*) will witness the light of theophany (*nūr al-tajallī*) with complete clearness (*inkishāf tāmm*). Nawawī also quotes an anonymous saying according to which *ḥaqīqa* means understanding the truth and the real meaning of things

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[35]Nawawī, Salālim, 11.

[36]Al-Ghazālī refers to four grades of piety: 1) *wara*ᶜ *al-ᶜudūl* which is the piety of abandoning everything strictly forbidden in Islamic law; 2) *wara*ᶜ *al-ṣāliḥīn* which is the piety of good people e.g. in the avoidance of doubtful matters (*shubha*); 3) *wara*ᶜ *al-muttaqīn.* which is the piety of the God-fearing man who gives up even the harmless things for fear of falling into harmful things or error; and 4) *wara*ᶜ *al-ṣiddīqīn* which is the piety of the extremely religious man who gives up everything not done out of pure fear of God. Al-Ghazālī also names this latter rank *rutbat al-muwaḥḥidīn al-mutajarridīn* ᶜ*an ḥuẓūẓī anfusihim al-munfaridīn lillāhi ta*ᶜ*ālā bi'l qaṣd* See Al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā' ᶜUlūm al-Dīn, vol. 2 (Egypt: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa awlāduh, 1939), 96 - 98.

(*ḥaqā'iq al-ashyā'*), i. e. witnessing the [divine] names, and attributes, as well as witnessing the Essence. It also means comprehending the secrets of the Qur'ān, the secrets of (the wisdom behind) what is forbidden and what is permissible (*al-manᶜ wa al-jawāz*) and direct access to the knowledge of the unseen (*al-ᶜulūm al-ghaybiyya*).[37]

In explaining *tajallī* Nawawī refers to a work called *al-Sayr wa al-Sulūk ilā Allāh* of Aḥmad al-Junayd[38] in which several levels of *tajallī* are distinguished:

> When its starting point is the essence without considering the attributes, it is called 'theophany of divine essence' (*tajallī al-dhāt*). Most of the friends of God (*awliyā'*) deny this type, arguing that *tajallī al-dhāt* occurs only through the intermediary of the attributes. It belongs, then, to the 'theophany of the divine names' (*tajallī al-asmā'*), which is close to the 'theophany of divine attributes' (*tajallī al-ṣifāt*). When its starting point is the act of God, it is called 'theophany of act' (*tajallī al-afᶜāl*). The theophany of divine names (*tajallī al-asmā'*) is the unveiling of the heart of the seeker to the names of God. If God Himself reveals one of His names to the seeker (*sālik*); the seeker will be annihilated under the lights of that name in such a way that if he invokes God under that name He answers him the same.[39]

This topic reflects classical Sufi tradition, such as in the teachings of Sahl al-Tustarī, inwhich three levels of *tajallī* are distinguished.[40]

Basing himself on *Hidāyat* verse 10, Nawawī explains that the first obligation of the obligated one (*mukallaf*) is to follow the *sharīᶜa* ; for whoever practices the *sharīᶜa,* will find it easy for him, with God's help, to enter the doors of *al-mujāhada* (self

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[37]Nawawī, Salālim, 11

[38]Ibid., 11. See also n. 18. on p. 58 of this chapter.

[39]Ibid., 11.

[40]See Gerhard Bowering, The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam: the Qur'ānic Hermeneutics of the Sūfī Sahl at-Tustarī (d. 283/896) (Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 1979), 174, referring to the discussion in Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Kalābādhī. Kitāb Al-Taᶜarruf li madhhab ahl al-Tasawwuf (Egypt: Maktaba al-Khānajī, 1933), 90. See also A.J. Arberry. The Doctrine of the Sufis, A Translation of Kitāb al-Taᶜarruf li madhhab ahl al-Taṣawwuf (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 117. See also ᶜAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī, Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfiyya (Al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-ᶜĀmma li al-Kitāb, 1981), 155-156, for a somewhat different explanation.

mortification)[41] which is the *ṭarīqa*, and that whoever practices the *ṭarīqa*, will have the light of *ḥaqīqa* appear to him. Nawawī further quotes from al-Qushayrī that no *sharīᶜa* without the support of *ḥaqīqa* is ever accepted, while *ḥaqīqa* without *sharīᶜa* will yield no result.[42] He also quotes an anonymous saying from Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī to the effect that the one who follows the *sharīᶜa* without *ḥaqīqa* is an offender (*fāsiq*), while the one who follows *ḥaqīqa* without *sharīᶜa* is a heretic (*zindiq*). Moreover, according to Abū Madyan (as quoted by Nawawī), one who thinks that worship is enough without knowledge (*fiqh*) is an outlaw from Islam, for he invents things, while the one who thinks that knowledge is enough without fear of God (*waraᶜ*) becomes full of himself and is fooled (*man iktafā bi al-taᶜabbudi dūna fiqhin kharaja wabtadaᶜa wa man iktafā bil fiqhi dūna waraᶜin ightarra wankhadaᶜa*). The former, Nawawī explains, will be against the path of Muḥammad and will start to have the qualities of *jāhiliya* while the latter is fooled into thinking that his acts are going to save him (from punishment).[43]

Here Nawawī's view seems to anticipate the view of Seyyed Ḥossein Naṣr when the latter declares that the *ṭarīqa* or spiritual path, which is usually known as *taṣawwuf* or Sufism, is the inner and esoteric dimension of Islam and, like the *sharīᶜa*, has its roots in the Qur'ān and prophetic practice. Without participation in the *shariᶜa* the life of the *ṭarīqa* would be impossible, and in fact the latter is interwoven, in its practices and attitudes, with the practices prescribed by the *sharīᶜa*. Naṣr states: "the role of the *ṭarīqa* as the inner dimension of the *sharīᶜa* has been even testified to by some of the authorities and founders of the schools of law who emphasized its importance in purifying Muslim ethics."[44]

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[41]The word *al-mujāhada* is derived from the Arabic root "j h d". In the verb form I, it means to endeavor, to strive or to take pains. See Hans Wehr, Arabic English Dictionary translated by J. M. Cowan (Ithaca, New York: Spoken Language Service, 1976), 142.

[42]Abu al-Qāsim ᶜAbd al-Karīm ibn Hawāzin al-Qushayrī Al-Risāla al-Qushayriyya fī ᶜilm al-Tasawwuf (Beirut: Dār al-Kitab al-ᶜArabī, 1957), 43.

[43]Nawawī. Salālim, 12.

[44]Seyyed Ḥossein Naṣr, Ideals and Realities of Islam (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1985), 125.

2. 2. Practical ways to the path of God.

Al-Malībarī's poem appears to classify Muslim believers according to the following scheme: the worshipper (*ᶜābid*), the knower (*ᶜālim*) and the gnostic (*ᶜārif*). Concerning these three levels of believers, Nawawī's view is basically in line with the statements of al-Malībarī in *Hidāyat* verse 93 to the effect that: "An *ᶜālim* is superior to the one who worships (an *ᶜābid*) and is like the moon over the stars." This verse is based on a prophetic tradition and it is obvious that Nawawī too believes that an *ᶜābid* [without knowledge] is in a lower rank than an *ᶜālim*.[45] However, Nawawī commenting *Hidāyat* verses 31-32 also indicates that an *ᶜābid* may elevate his positon by seeking knowledge in the following order: the knowledge of *sharīᶜa*, *ᶜaqīda* and *taṣawwuf*. Nawawī, referring to a *ḥadīth*, seems to say that a good deed (*ᶜamal*), even if it is small, if done conscienciously and knowingly is better than a great deal of *ᶜamal* without knowledge.[46] By this explanation, it is clear that there are at least two reasons why an *ᶜālim* is superior to an *ᶜābid*: based on the *ḥadīth* mentioned above and the fact that the action will not be considered correct without *ᶜilm*.

Regarding the status of *ᶜārif*, al-Malībarī and Nawawī agree that an *ᶜārif* occupies a higher level than an *ᶜālim*.[47] In *Hidāyat* verses 179-180 al-Malībarī states that the status of gnostics (*ᶜārifūn*) is superior to that of the "people of the derived and fundamental sciences" (*ahl farᶜ wa al-uṣūl*), probably meaning the science of *fiqh* and *kalām* in general. One *rakᶜa* of an *ᶜārif* is better than 1000 *rakᶜa* of an *ᶜālim*. In the explanation, Nawawī justifies this by

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[45]Nawawī, Salālim, 61.

[46]Ibid., 23-24.

[47]According to Abū Yazīd (as stated by M. A. Rabb) the *ᶜārif*'s knowledge comes from God, the Living, but the *ᶜālim* receives his knowledge from dead authors and narrators. If the *ᶜārif* speaks 'from' God, the *ᶜālim* speaks 'about' God. See M. A. Rabb, Persian Mysticism: Abu Yazid al-Bistami (Pakistan: The Academy for Pakistan Affairs, 1971), 136.

identifying the "gnostics" with the "people of illumination" (*ahl al-ishrāq*). He further tells us that a single breath (*nafas*) on the part of the people of the real unity of God (*ahli ḥaqīqa al-tawḥīd*) is superior even to all the good deeds performed by every *ᶜālim* and *ᶜārif*, referring to an anonymous saying to this effect.[48]

Nawawī also quotes a saying that the *ᶜārif* is above what he says whereas the *ᶜālim* is below what he says,[49] perhaps meaning by this that the speech of the *ᶜālim* is higher than his state (*ḥāl*) whereas the state of the *ᶜārif* is above his speech.[50]

Nawawī goes on to quote other authorities on this issue: "Ruwaym says that hypocrisy of an *ᶜārif* is better than the sincerity of a disciple (*murīd*), while Abū Bakr al-Warrāq says that the silence of an *ᶜārif* is more useful and his words are good and pleasant. Dhu al-Nūn says that ascetics are the kings of the other world but (only) the poor among the gnostics."[51] Nawawī refers to Abū Yazīd, who when asked about the qualities of an *ᶜārif*, said that an *ᶜārif* sees nothing when asleep or awake except God, nor does he agree or communicate with anyone except God.[52]

In our opinion the concept of the three levels of Muslim believers is discernible in much of Nawawī's interpretation of al-Malībarī's poem. Although it is based on Malībarī's own text, it is often reflected in Nawawī's overall treatment of Sufi concepts and thus could

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[48]Nawawī, Salālim, 113. The anonymous saying is quoted from Shaykh al-ᶜAydarūs (see above p. 58). Here presumably an *ᶜārif* is at a lower stage of attainment than the *ahli ḥaqīqa al-tawḥīd*. In fact Nawawī describes eight signs of *ᶜārifīn* in his other work, Naṣā'iḥ al-ᶜIbād (Indonesia: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-ᶜArabiyya, n. d.), 55.

[49]Nawawī, Salālim, 113. This is a saying of Abū Yazīd and according to M. A. Rabb "perhaps this means that the *ᶜālim* knows much less than what he does, while the case of the *ᶜārif* is its opposite, or that the *ᶜālim* acts much less than he speaks while the *ᶜārif* does its opposite." See M. A. Rabb, Persian Mysticism, 136.

[50]Explanation given by Dr. Hermann A. Landolt when I discussed this matter with him.

[51]Nawawī, Salālim, 113. All three from al-Qushayrī see (Risāla, 142). Ruwaym's saying is attributed to Abū Yazīd by ᶜAṭṭār (cf. M. A. Rabb, Persian Mysticism, 136).

[52]Nawawī, Salālim, 112. See also al-Qushayrī, Risāla, 142. For a similar saying of Abū Yazīd see M. A. Rabb, Persian Mysticism, 128.

be considered as a significant element in Nawaw's own mystical perspective. Another theme which arises from Nawawī's treatment of Sufi concepts is the relation between one's inner and outer aspect, and the importance of right practice and living for the protection and encouraging of spiritual growth.[53]

As we stated earlier, Al-Malībarī gives nine recommendations (*al-waṣāyā al-tisᶜa*) in *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā'* for those seeking the path of the friends of God (*ṭarīq al-awliyā').* In the following discussion of the nine recommendations (i. e., *tawba, zuhd, taᶜallum al-ᶜilm al-sharᶜī,* etc.) we will, in some instances, draw upon the perspective developed in the above section, i. e. analyzing the terms in the light of the three levels of Muslim believers and the inner and outer dimensions of these practices.

2.2.1. *Al-tawba* (repentance).

Al-Malībarī says that repentance (al-tawba) is the key to all worship and the basis for all good things. [54]

Nawawī explains that if a seeker is sincere in his *tawba* he has to continue his serious effort (*mujāhada*) and keep all the members of his body in obedience to God. When he keeps himself in this state it is good for his outer as well as his inner progress, since the outer (state and practices) will have an impact on the inner. Nawawī quotes Abū ᶜUthmān al-Maghribī (d. 373 A. H./983 A. D.) who says that whoever thinks that he discovers the invisible world on the path (*ṭarīqa*), without having exercised *mujāhada* , is wrong.[55]

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[53]We should note that this latter concept of the relation between outer practice and inner state is present in Nawawī's previous discussions of *taṣawwuf* and the discussions of *sharīᶜa, ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa.* See pp. 59-65 of this study.

[54]Al-Malībarī. Hidāyat , verse 21.

[55]Nawawī , Salālim, 18. In a famous prophetic tradition there is a statement regarding the close relationship between inner and outer (*qalb* and *jasad*). See Ibn Aṭā' Allāh, al-Hikam (Egypt: Maktaba al-Qāhira, 1958), 10.

According to Nawawī different people are in different levels of *tawba* depending on their states. When an ordinary person repents for his sins it is called *tawbat al-ᶜawāmm*. A higher level of *tawba* is *tawbat al-khawāṣṣ* which is repentance from heedlessness of the heart (*ghaflat al-qulūb*). The highest level of *tawba* is *tawbat khawāṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ* which is repentance from all that a person loves (save God).[56]

Nawawī explains further that asking for forgiveness, performing *duᶜā'* and preserving all the members of the body from committing sin[57] (keeping them in obedience to God in return) are necessary to protect one's *tawba* and might in fact improve the degree of the repentance itself.[58]

In this section we see reflections of the idea of different categories of Muslims, but more in terms of different levels of practice and experience. Although it is too simplistic to relate the first category (*ᶜābid*) to the first degree of *tawba* and so on, it does appear that the lowest level of *tawba* is appropriate to the *ᶜābid* whereas the higher two are more relevant to the Sufi or *ᶜārif* who is attempting to purify his heart and achieve awareness of God. Nawawī also indicates that by conscientiously protecting one's outward practice, one may

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[56]Nawawī , Tanqīh al-Qawl al-Hathīth (Indonesia: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-ᶜArabiyya, n.d.), 38. Perhaps the explanation of the stages of *tawba* is taken from al-Sarrāj. See Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj al-Ṭūsī, al-Lumaᶜ fī ᶜIlm al-Tasawwuf (Egypt: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadītha, 1960), 68. al-Sarrāj uses the term *khuṣūṣ al-khuṣūṣ* instead of *khawāṣ al-khawāṣṣ*. In *Salālim* Nawawī refers to Shaykh Muḥy al-Dīn ibn al-ᶜArabī al-Maghribī who divides *al-tawba* into three classes: *al-tawba* refers to the one who repents from fear of punishment. *Al-ināba* refers to the one who repents hoping for rewards and *Al-awba* refers to the one who repents for the sake of worshipping God, neither wanting a reward nor fearing punishment. Nawawī does not explain further about this quotation. See Nawawī, Salālim, 14. See also Muḥy al-Dīn Ibn ᶜArabī. Al-Futūhāt al-Makkiyya, vol 13 (Cairo: Al-Ḥay'a al-Miṣriyya al-ᶜAmma li al-Kitāb, 1990), 298. For a view similar to Ibn ᶜArabī's, see also al-Qushayrī, Risāla, 48. As an additional reference we should note that al-Hujwīrī clarifies *al-tawba* as the station of the mass of believers, *al-ināba* as the station of the saints and favourites of God and *al-awba* as the station of the Prophets and apostles. See ᶜAlī ibn ᶜUthmān al-Jullābī al-Hujwīrī, The Kashf al-Mahjūb, The Oldest Persian Treatise on Sufism translated by Reynold A. Nicholson (Leiden:E. J. Brill, 1911), 295.

[57]Nawawī, Salālim, 16-17.

[58]Ibid., 18.

improve one's degree of repentance, i. e. that increased purity in practice can result in inner spiritual growth.

2.2.2. *Al-qanā*ᶜ*a* (satisfaction).

With respect to *al-qanā*ᶜ*ā*, al-Malībarī says that *al-qanā*ᶜ*a* means satisfaction to the point of abandoning desires and luxuries .[59]

Nawawī agrees with al-Malībarī's opinion on the importance of having a satisfied heart, especially in relation to livelihood (*rizq*). He bases his opinion on the prophetic tradition, "that indeed Allāh, when He likes a man, He provides his livelihood sufficiently, not more which makes him rebell or less which disturbs him."[60]

In relation to livelihood in terms of physical needs such as food, clothes and housing Nawawī's view is clear: it is by abandoning luxury and excess that one will feel happy with what is available. He also implies that real success in wordly life is determined by the satisfaction of one's heart, and not in terms of material gain, quoting two verses of al-Shāfiᶜī to this effect.[61]

2.2.3. *Al-zuhd* (asceticism).

With respect to *al-zuhd* al-Malībarī states that it means wisdom through loosing one's heart's attachments to wealth, not loosing wealth itself. [62]

According to Nawawī, *zuhd* has many different meanings, for example: disregarding the wordly life and looking down on all its trappings. A *zāhid* is not happy even with a small thing from *dunyā* and he is not sad over losing it; he does not take

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[59]Al-Malībarī, Hidāyat, verse 23.

[60]Nawawī, Salālim, 19.

[61]Ibid., 19.

[62]Al-Malībarī, Hidāyat, verse 25.

anything from *dunyā* unless it helps him to obey God. A *zāhid* is always busy remembering God and the Hereafter, and whoever reaches the degree of *zuhd,* although his body is in the present world (*dunyā*), his soul and mind are in the Hereafter.[63]

Nawawī further clarifies the different opinions concerning the interpretation of *zuhd.* Imām Aḥmad [ibn Hanbal] (d. 241/855) and Sufyān al-Thawrī (d 97/715) say that *zuhd* is reducing hope [reducing reliance on *dunyā*]. Ibn Mubārak (d. 181/797) says *zuhd* is reliance on God. Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī (d. 250/864) says *zuhd* is abandoning what keeps you preoccupied and thus distracted from God.[64]

The contrary of reducing hope is "extension of hope (*ṭūl al-amal*) [which] is one of the most disliked attitudes in Sufism."[65]Nawawī himself mentions that *ṭūl al-amal* belongs to one of the five signs of hardship.[66] In fact, according to Schimmel the negative counterpart of *zuhd* is greed (*hirs*).[67]

Avoiding extremist interpretations of *zuhd* , Nawawī quotes a prophetic tradition which makes the seeking of a minimal subsistance in the world a religious duty.[68] At the same time, however, he quotes al-Ghazālī who says that *zuhd* in *dunyā* is a noble stage among the stages of the seeker. A *zāhid* should cultivate within himself three attitudes: first, he should hate what is in his possession and be happy when he loses it; second, the praise or criticism of others should not matter to the *zāhid;* third, God should be his friend and companion and he should feel the sweetness of obedience.[69]

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[63]Nawawī, Salālim, 20.

[64]Ibid., 20.

[65]A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, 120-121.

[66]Nawawī, Salālim, 102. See also Nawawī, Naṣā'iḥ al-ʿIbād, 55.

[67]A.Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, 111.

[68]Nawawī, Salālim, 21.

[69]Ibid., 21. See also Al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn vol. 4: 236.

Nawawī further comments on verse 28 which states that one should leave a wife that does not help one to serve God. He refers to Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī who says that living alone is preferable to being married to a woman who distracts one from remembrance of God, and therefore celibacy can be a part of *al-zuhd.* [70] From the explanation above it is clear that one should abandon even something which is allowed according to Islamic law if it distracts one's heart from God. According to Schimmel, being a *zāhid* includes "giving up the hope for heavenly reward or the fear of Hell."[71]

Another aspect which relates to *zuhd* is knowledge. According to al-Ghazālī (in the above quotation), *zuhd* is composed of "knowledge" (*ʿilm*), "inner state" (*ḥāl*) and "practice" (*ʿamal*). Nawawī also refers to two prophetic traditions to make it clear that one can learn true wisdom (*ḥikma*) from an ascetic who knows little logic (*manṭiq*), and that he who grows in knowledge (*ʿilm*) without simultaneously growing in *zuhd*, only increases his distance from God.[72] Hence, people of knowledge ideally should have more *zuhd* than other people. At this point we see the idea of the relationship between the *ʿālim* and *zuhd*; the more that people have knowledge the more they are expected to be spiritually elevated. Knowledge, even religious knowledge, is empty unless it involves spiritual progress.[73]

It is interesting that Nawawī describes this relationship in terms of learning and ignorance, which are both related to knowledge. In terms of the overall themes of the three levels of believers and the relation between outer practice and inner spiritual progress, it is obvious that Nawawī believes that the purpose of *zuhd*, ascetical practices, is to allow for spiritual attainment. Similarly knowledge perfects one's conduct and way of life. The

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[70]Nawawī, Salālim, 22.

[71]A.Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, 110.

[72]Nawawī, Salālim, 21.

[73]In fact Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal classifies three different kinds of *zuhd*: *zuhd al-ʿawāmm*, which is abandoning forbidden things; *zuhd al-khawāṣṣ* which is abandoning permissible things and *zuhd al-ʿārifīn* which is abandoning whatever distracts one from worshipping God. See Al-Qushayrī, Risāla, 55, 57.

implication of this last point is that knowledge--religious and/or spiritual (gnostic)-- is related to one's practical conduct, including worship. Thus an *ᶜālim* and *ᶜārif* do not become exempt from the practice of obedience; rather their obedience and worship become progressively purified and elevated.

2.2.4. *Taᶜallum al-ᶜilm al-sharᶜī* (learning the Islamic sciences)

Zayn al-Dīn al-Malībarī enumerates three types of knowledge: that of obedience (*ṭāᶜa* i. e. the *sharīᶜa*), that of belief (*ᶜaqīda* i. e. theology), and that of keeping one's heart pure (i. e. *taṣawwuf*) . These are the three personal obligations (*farḍ ᶜayn*), the implementation or observation of which will make one safe and spiritually elevated.[74]

Nawawī comments that an obligated person (*mukallaf*) should learn the three types of knowledge which are mentioned by al-Malībarī. The first will help in making one's worship correct; the second will protect one's beliefs from doubts; and the third will purify the heart and cure it from jealousy, hypocrisy and other vices.[75]

Nawawī emphasizes the importance of knowledge and/or an *ᶜālim* by referring to two prophetic traditions. "Little action in knowledge of God is beneficial while much action in ignorance of God is useless" and "All creatures on the earth and in the skies will ask for forgiveness for the people with knowledge (*ᶜālim*)."[76]

Since Nawawī does not clearly indicate that this reference to a knowledgeable person (*ᶜālim*) is limited to the person who knows *sharīᶜa* or *ᶜaqīda,* we may be justified in interpreting it in a more general sense, as referring to one who possesses any, or ideally all, of the three types of knowledge mentioned above. In our opinion these types of knowledge

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[74]Al-Malībarī. Hidāyat, verses 31 - 32.

[75]Nawawī , Salālim, 23-24. See also his other work, Al-Futūhāt al-Madaniyya (Indonesia: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kitāb al-ᶜArabiyya, n.d.), 26. Nawawī mentions other subjects worthy of study like *tafsīr, ḥadīth, uṣūl al-fiqh* and others.

[76]Nawawī, Salālim, 24. See al-Ghazālī, Ihyā' ᶜUlūm al-Dīn Vol 1:: 14, 12. The second *ḥadīth* is also mentioned in Imām Nawawī's, Riyād al-Sālihīn (New Delhi: Kitab Bhavan, 1989), 658.

are almost similar to the three types of Muslim believers, in that the higher one progresses, the more one integrates these three types of knowledge. In other words one does not leave one level for the next; rather, one deepens and elevates one's worship through the acquisition of religious knowledge, and one deepens and elevates both one's worship and newly acquired knowledge through the acquisition of spiritual insight. When one's spiritual progress increases, the quality of one's state and actions is elevated. So an *ᶜābid* is not in a static condition; in fact according to Nawawī a *mukallaf* should study the three types of knowledge as a personal obligation. One is not allowed to ignore them if one hopes to be safe in the Hereafter and to achieve a high degree.[77] It should also be noted of *taᶜallum al-ᶜilm al-sharᶜī* that since this concept is discussed in the section concerning religious sciences (and not purity of intention) it indicates the importance of knowledge.

2.2.5. *Al-muḥāfaẓa ᶜalā al-sunan* (preserving the Prophet's traditions).

On the preservation of the prophet's traditions, al-Malībarī has the following to say:

> Preserve the *sunna* and *ādāb* which come from the best messenger of God Tasawwuf is tantamount to *adab* (good behavior), and from *ᶜAwarif*, seek it and practice by it. There is no guide on the path to God except following him, the messenger who completed prophethood. Follow him in his inner state, in his actions and in his speech. Keep following and continue practicing them. The way of all the Sufi masters is tied up with the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* as the original sources.[78]

In light of the above passage, Nawawī comments that the seeker should preserve the traditions of the Prophet which deal with ritual matters such as *ṣalāt* and good manners which were inspired in the Prophet by God the Almighty.[79] From the Prophet's traditions we know many details concerning his behaviour in life. Indeed many pages in Nawawī's works confirm this point.

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[77]Nawawī, Salālim, 23-24.

[78]Al-Malībarī, Hidāyat, verses 33-37.

[79]Nawawī, Salālim, 25.

As was suggested earlier (pp. 59-61) there is another significant implication in Nawawī's treatment of the importance of following the Prophet's *sunna* and *ādāb* in order to draw closer to God. Following the *sunna* is an obligation for all Muslims and is done out of obedience to God, Who, according to the Qur'ān, has sent the Prophet as the best example for mankind. However Nawawī, by treating it as one of the nine *waṣāyā* for drawing closer to God, implies that following the *sunna* will improve one's inner spiritual state, i.e. one's ability to draw closer to God, a point which he supports with numerous quotation of classical Sufi sayings. Also implied in this discussion is the necessity of acquiring religious knowledge (*ᶜilm*) in order to be informed of proper *sunna* practices. Thus Nawawī integrates all three levels of Muslims believers (*ᶜābid, ᶜālim , ᶜārif*) and implies that one needs to follow the *sunna* out of obedience, with knowledge and for the purpose of purifying one's heart in order to reach the highest level of closeness to God, which is open only to the seeker who possess all three types of knowledge (see p.73) and has the combined assets of *ᶜābid, ᶜālim* and *ᶜārif.* (This seeker can only refer to an *ᶜārif* who has the three levels of knowledge).

It is obvious, in any case, that for al-Malībarī and Nawawī, *taṣawwuf* is based on the *ādāb* of the Prophet and the path taken by Sufi masters who followed the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* (verses 35 - 37). According to Nawawī, verse 37 of *Hidāyat al-Adhkiyā'* is taken from the sayings of Abū al-Qāsim al-Junayd who emphasized his school's motto that whoever does not study both the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* cannot follow the spiritual path. Nawawī adds that Al-Suyūṭī believes that the path of al-Junayd is the right way.[80]
The section ends with a lengthy explanation of the *ḥadīth al-nawāfil* [81] alluded to in Malībarī's verses 39-41 (*Salālim*, 28-29).

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[80]Ibid, 27.

[81]See A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, 43.

2.2.6. *Al-tawakkul* (trust in God).

Al-Malībarī urges believers to trust in God concerning their livelihood, trusting the promise of the most generous Giver. However, he who has a family is not allowed to abstain from earning livelihood. In any case one should not feel envy for the wealth or positions of others, for to do so that is to humiliate oneself.[82]

According to Nawawī *al-tawakkul* is to depend on God and to trust in Him, and to hope that He will provide living; since to rely on one's efforts or earnings (*kasb*) might be tantamount to disbelief.[83] It is clear from verse 42 that the obligated man who has no family and is serious in his effort to live in obedience to God and according to His promise should depend on God the Almighty in the matter of livelihood. Nawawī quotes from the Qur'ān, "There is no beast on earth that does not depend on God for his livelihood." In another verse (65:3) God says: "Whosoever putteth his trust in Allah, he will suffice him." [84]

Nawawī quotes a prophetic saying which states that the person who is devoted entirely to God becomes self-sufficient. God provides for him from a source which he does not know; as for the one who is devoted to *al-dunyā*, God leaves him there. Describing the various points of view concerning *al-tawakkul*, Nawawī prefers the view that to depend entirely on God does not conflict with the necessity of earning a living; for a person becomes a trusting earner by accepting what God has given without looking for more.

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[82]Al-Malībarī, Hidāyat, verses 42-44.

[83]Nawawī, Salālim, 29. According to Schimmel, the Muslim mystics often use the expression '*ḥusn al-ẓann*' (to think well of God) in terms of livelihood. She cautions against a confusion of this deep trust in God with the stoic acceptance of a blind fate, although she does not deny that the unhealthy exaggeration of *tawakkul* might "induce man into perfect passivity." However, as one of the basic stations on the Sufi path, *tawakkul* is still an important element of Muslim piety. A.Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, 118-119.

[84]Nawawī, Salālim, 30. The translation is from Pickthall, The Meaning, 403. In fact al-Qushayrī quotes from Sahl who says that the first stage of *tawakkul* requires the believer to be in the hands of God, like a corpse in the hands of *al-ghāsil* (the one who performs the ritual ablution for the dead). See al-Qushayrī, Risāla, 76. See also Martin Lings, What is Sufism? (Great Britain: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1981), 97.

Nawawī's reading of verse 44 from *Hidāyat* leads him to declare that one should not let one's honour be compromised by being controlled by the people of *dunyā* from whom one seeks money or position or some advantage. Nawawī's statements imply that to trust God means to be content with whatever He gives, whether it is abundance or poverty. Nawawī seems to be in agreement with al-Ghazālī, as he ends this section with the following quote from Ghazālī:

> Bishr (al-Ḥāfī, d. 227/841) divided the poor into three categories:
>
> 1) Those who do not ask anything of others and if given will not accept it. This type of person will be in a high position alongside the angels (*rūḥāniyyīn*) in heaven (*ʿilliyyūn*).
> 2) Those who never ask but who take whatever they are given. This type of person will be with 'those brought near" (*al-muqarrabīn*) in paradise.
> 3) Finally those who ask when in need. This type will be with the honest people (*al-ṣādiqīn*), among the "People of the Right" (*aṣḥāb al-yamīn*)

Basically, Nawawī following Ghazālī, continues to state that it is agreed that asking (begging) is not good.[85] However, every action depends on its intention. As an example, there is the case of Abū Isḥāq al-Nūrī[86] who begged, (according to al-Junayd) only in order to provide those who gave him charity with an opportunity to obtain a reward in the Hereafter.[87]

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[85]Nawawī, Salālim, 31. Al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn vol. 4: 210 (*bayān aḥwāl al-sā'ilīn).* In a spiritual sense A. Schimmel interprets poverty to mean "the absence of desire for wealth, which includes the absence of desire for the blessings of other world. One of the aspect of true *faqr* is that the mystic must not ask anything of anyone. For to ask would mean to rely upon a created being. To possess anything means to be possessed by it. The true *faqīr* needs God, nothing else." See A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, 121.

[86]*sic* in Nawawī, Salālim, 31 and al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn vol. 4: 210. However, the correct name is Abu al-Ḥasan al-Nūrī (d. 295/907). See Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Makkī, Qūt al-Qulūb (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr, 1310 A. H.) vol. 2: 161. In Qushayrī we find Abu al-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī. See al-Qushayrī, Risāla, 20.

[87]Nawawī, Salālim, 31.

2.2.7. *Al-ikhlāṣ* (purity of intention).

Al-Malībarī says:

> Purify your intention and do not seek anything by obedience except to become close to God. Do not at the same time aim for wordly benefits, such as being praised by the people. Be wary of *riyā'* (hypocrisy) which will prevent you from worshipping God. Do not make a show of either your virtues or your vices. The faith of a person will not be complete until he looks on people and camels indifferently, so their praise or blame will be equal to him. A good deed, if done because of others (witnessing it), just as omitting it, is a form of *shirk*. This is hypocrisy.[88]

According to Nawawī, verse 45 (above) indicates that the seeker should be sincere in seeking the satisfaction of God. Purity of intention or sincerity means to have in mind God only and to be constant in this worship as commanded. Nawawī quotes from Sahl [al-Tustarī] who said that "purity of intention means that man's resting and movement be specifically for the Most High" , while Al-Junayd said that purity of intention purifies the actions of whatever is unclean.[89]

In explaining verse 47, Nawawī refers to *Tuḥfat al-Khawāṣṣ* (see above, p. 58) in which it is mentioned that hypocrisy means to worship with the intention of showing off to people, one's motive being in this case to receive praise or to obtain wealth or position, and that this amounts to incurring a major sin. No action which has an element of hypocrisy is ever accepted.[90] Although setting a good example by virtuous deeds is doubtless excellent, one has to beware of "hidden hypocrisy" (*al-riyā' al-khafī*).[91]

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[88]Al-Malībarī, Hidāyat , verses 45-51.

[89]Nawawī. Salālim, 32.

[90]Ibid., 33. A. Schimmel adds that "an act of perfect sincerity, done for God's sake, might result in spiritual progress even though it might appear outwardly foolish." See A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, 108.

[91]Nawawī, Salālim, 34.

With respect to the signs of *al-ikhlāṣ*, Nawawī, in commenting on verse 49, refers to al-Ghazālī who gives the same example as Malībarī: *ikhlāṣ* is not pure as long as one is not indifferent as to whether one is witnessed by humans or animals. This lack of purity of intention is "hidden *shirk*".[92] Nawawī also refers to Abū Madyan's *Ḥikam* where it is stated that "the sign of *ikhlāṣ* is that the creatures (*al-khalq*) disappear from you when you witness God (*al-ḥaqq*)."[93]

As for verse 51, Nawawī explains it by referring to a saying of al-Fuḍayl [ibn ᶜIyāḍ, d. 187/803]: "To abandon an act [merely] from [fear of] people is a sign of hypocrisy (*riyā'*), while to perform it [merely] for the sake of people is mixed worship (*shirk*). Purity of intention results when God saves you from these two evils.[94]

2.2.8. *Al-ᶜuzla* (isolation).

Zayn al-Dīn al-Malībarī writes that:

> One should not keep company with someone who belongs to the people of idleness and carelessness of religion because it is considered a great disaster. It is better for one to isolate oneself when times are bad or out of fear of religious *fitna* (disturbance) . Similarly this should be done when one is afraid of being in a state of *shubhat* (uncertainty), or of committing an act which is *ḥarām* (prohibited). And it is better for those who are able to enjoin good and prohibit the forbidden, to mix with people, if one can be patient with harmful things and not be defeated by sin.[95]

In explaining verse 53, Nawawī refers to Aḥmad ibn ᶜAṭā' Allāh who, in his *Hikam*, states that one should not keep company with someone whose state (*ḥāl*) is not uplifting and whose words do not guide one to God.[96] Nawawī also refers to Abū

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[92]Nawawī, Salālim, 35. See also al-Ghazālī, Ihyā' ᶜUlūm al-Dīn vol. 4: 371.

[93]Nawawī, Salālim, 35.

[94]Ibid., 36.

[95]Al-Malībarī. Hidāyat , verse 53 - 58.

[96]Ibn ᶜAṭā' Allāh, Al-Hikam, 33.

Madyan who says that the one who sits among people chanting the name of God will be able to wake up from heedlessness. The one who serves good people will be in a higher state to serve Him (God). He further elaborates on good influences resulting from keeping company with good people and the bad influences resulting from keeping company with bad people.[97]

With respect to benefits derived from *al-ᶜuzla* Nawawī refers to al-Ghazālī who says that the benefits of *al-ᶜuzla* are six: the first is that one could have time for worshipping and meditating, for speaking or baring one's heart to God and for seeking answers to the secrets of life and existence; the second is that one could get rid of disobedience that result mostly from living and interacting with other people, which include the habits of lying and showing off; the third is that one could put a stop to fights and quarrels and also protect one's religion; the fourth is that one could prevent people from the habit of lying and doing evil; the fifth is that one could stop wanting things from people and vice versa; and the sixth is that one could avoid the company of bad and foolish people.[98]

Nevertheless, a case can also be made for the contrary. Thus, Nawawī once again refers to al-Ghazālī who mentions seven benefits of living in society (*fawā'id al-mukhālaṭa*) or the harms of seclusion (*āfāt al-ᶜuzla*), as he realizes the fact that there are some religious practices which cannot be performed without mingling with others, and that seclusion can be a result of pride. Nawawī seems to agree with al-Ghazālī that it is necessary for one to weigh the benefits of living in society as opposed to living outside of it before one opts for a life of seclusion[99] .

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[97]Nawawī, Salālim , 37f.

[98]Ibid., 39. See also Al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā' ᶜUlūm al-Dīn, Vol. 2: 226 - 235.

[99]Nawawī, Salālim, 39-41 For a detailed explanation, see also al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā' ᶜUlūm al-Dīn vol. 2: 236 - 241. In Salālim, 41 Nawawī mentions Imām Mālik, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Ibrāhīm ibn Adhām, Dāwud al-Ṭāᶜī, Fuḍayl ibn ᶜIyāḍ, Sulaymān al-Khawwāṣ, Yūsuf ibn Usbāṭ, Hudhayfa al-Marᶜashī and Bishr al-Ḥāfī as the people who prefer to practice seclusion. Further discussion concerning seclusion, see also Hermann Landolt, "*khalwa*" in E. I. new ed. vol. 4 ed. B. Lewis (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965).

2.2.9. *Ḥifẓ al-awqāt* (preserving the moment).

Zayn al-Dīn al-Malībarī says:

> Spend your time entirely in obeying God, do not waste a moment.... Struggle in order that your heart be present when you are praying to achieve good things. Do not forget that God sees your heart. His presence and His witness for you are clear.... Actively practice *wird* (a kind of prayer or recitation); do not talk; face the *qibla*, be attentive and pronounce *lā ilāha illā Allāh,* following the method of the Sufi masters, you will see the fire and the light. The face of the heart will be enlightened and bad habits will be gone. You will become one of the people of vision (*ahl al-mushāhada)*, and it is a great favor (*niᶜma*).[100]

Nawawī begins his comments on the above verses by saying that we should spend our time in worship (*anwāᶜ al-ᶜibāda)* and nothing else not like animals who do not know what they are occupied with. Such worship could be of various kinds: For example, one should spend one's time bringing benefit to other people with knowledge through teaching or studying books. An *ᶜālim* should spend his time on this immediately after the prescribed prayers and *rawātib,* while students should occupy themselves with seeking the benefits of religious knowledge. Thus it is clear that according to Nawawī, to spend time teaching or acquiring knowledge is better than to busy oneself with reciting extra prayers.[101]

It is significant that Nawawī, after all of his emphasis on the importance of preserving *sunna* in general, and on *taᶜallum ᶜilm al-sharᶜī* in particular, should be of the opinion that it is better for the student seeking the benefits of religious knowledge to spend time acquiring (religious) knowledge rather than in busying himself with *sunna* (prayers). We understand this last idea in the light of an earlier concept put forth by Nawawī: that a good deed even if it is small, if done conscienciously and knowingly, is better than a great deal of *ᶜamal* without knowledge.[102] This idea is quite consistent with Nawawī's overall

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[100]Al-Malībarī. Hidāyat, verses 62, 66-67, 70-71.

[101]Nawawī, Salālim, 43. See also Nawawī, Al-Futūhāt al-Madaniyya, 26. Here he says that occupying oneself with knowledge is better than *sunna* prayer.

[102]See above p.66.

concept of the three levels of believers. Worship and *sunna* practices are important in themselves, but these gain in significance with the attainment of higher degrees of knowledge, both religious and gnostic knowledge respectively.

This overall concept of the levels of believers and the correspondingly higher levels of knowledge is also reflected in Nawawī's statement that real prayer should be done with the presence of the heart. This type of prayer is both internal and external, rather than merely an outward practice.

In commenting on verses 70-73, Nawawī, referring to Suhrawardī, Shaykh ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz and Imām Nawawī, explains the importance of occupying oneself with *wird* after the dawn prayer. He quotes Abū Madyan, the author of *al-Ḥikam* , in order to explain the "attentiveness" (*murāqaba*) mentioned in Malībarī's verse 70: Abū Madyan says that the slave does not complete his deed without purity of intention and *murāqaba* , because the completeness of the slave is not fulfilled without the completeness of worship and worship is not complete without the completeness of purity of intention (*ikhlāṣ*) in the service of God. *Ikhlāṣ* will not yield a result unless it is accompanied by the completeness of *murāqaba* which is "continuous remembrance of the heart in (awareness of) God's seeing you" (*dawām dhikr al-qalb bi naẓar Allāh ilayhi*). Concerning "pronounciation of *lā ilāha illā Allāh* following the method of the Sufi masters" (Malībarī verses 70-71), Nawawī points out that one will experience "fire" caused by the heat of this formula reaching the heart. The Sufis therefore do not drink water during and after this ritual act. To "see light" as a result of this means that the vision of the heart will be illumined by visible light, bad traits will be removed from the soul, and one will be enabled to achieve vision (of God, *mushāhada*), which is a great favor.[103]

2. 3. *Tadhkira* (reminder).

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[103]Nawawī, Salālim, 46-47.

Al-Malībarī states that those who are not preoccupied with the present world (*dunyā*) should continuously worship God whether by praying or by reciting the Qur'ān. When one tires of reciting the Qur'ān, one may remember God with the heart and tongue, and may continue the *dhikr* with the heart, being "attentive" (*murāqaba)* and eliminating any thought of oneself (*ḥadīth al-nafs*) as this will harden the heart which in turn will not remember God.[104]

Nawawī agrees with al-Malībarī that one who is not preoccupied with *dunyā* should continuously worship God; if he does not do this, he will be the biggest loser both in the present life and in the Hereafter. One should perform extra prayer as this is the best form of worship after belief in God (*īmān*). If one is bored with prayer one may recite the Qur'ān;[105] after this one should remember God with the heart and the tongue, then continue the *dhikr* with the heart, being "attentive" (*murāqaba*) as if one were present before God.[106] L. Gardet states: "the mere *dhikr* of the tongue without intention (*niyya*) is rejected, for it would be just routine, profitless, while in the *dhikr* of the heart, the sufi reaches a point where he has effaced the trace of the word on his tongue, and finds his heart continuously applied to *dhikr*."[107]

In Nawawī's view *dhikr* is the shortest way towards God the Almighty. *Dhikr* is "a sign pointing to the existence of spiritual authority" (*ᶜalam ᶜalā wujūd al-wilāya*) or it is

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[104]Al-Malībarī, Hidāyat, verses 166 - 171.

[105]Nawawī, Salālim, 104. Here Nawawī seems to contradict himself (cf above p. 81). For a discussion on the same matter, see Salālim, 49, 55, 57, 104.

[106]Ibid., 104. Perhaps Nawawī means by *dhikr* with the heart and the tongue, *dhikr* of the tongue with 'intention,' in accordance to L. Gardet's view. See also Nūr al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān-i Isfarāyinī, Le Révélateur des mystères (kāshif al-asrār), Persian text with two appendixes translation and preliminary study by Hermann A. Landolt, (Lagrasse: Verdier, 1986), 42. " The general rule for the less advanced disciple is that it is necessary in every state and situation to pronounce the *dhikr* with the tongue and the heart except in an impure place, where only the dhikr of the heart is to be continued."

[107]L.Gardet, "*Dhikr*" in E. I. 225.

public evidence of *wilāya* (*manshūr al-wilāya*).[108] The one who has been made successful in *dhikr* has been given this evidence. The one who denies the *dhikr* has been isolated. All good qualities come from *dhikr*. The benefits of *dhikr* are innumerable and it is enough for one to understand God's saying: "If you remember Me, I will remember you." (Qur'ān 2:152).[109]

Nawawī also points out that a key feature of *dhikr* is that it is not practised with reference to a specific time, God having ordered His servants to practice it any time (unlike other duties). According to Ibn ᶜAbbās God does not oblige His servant to perform his religious duties except with certain limits (*ḥadd*); in the case of *dhikr*, however, God does not set limits for it, and so there is no excuse to abandon the *dhikr* except for those having a disturbed mind (*maghlūban ᶜalā ᶜaqlih*).[110]

The servant of God has to remember God as much as possible, performing *dhikr* in every conceivable condition or situation. He cannot abandon the *dhikr* merely out of forgetfulness, although to be forgetful during the *dhikr* is preferable to abandoning *dhikr* altogether. Nawawī recommends that one remember God with his tongue even if one is inattentive or in a heedless condition (*ghafla*), the hope being that by repeating with the tongue, the *dhikr maᶜa wujūd al-ghafla* will be raised a notch higher to the *dhikr* with consciousness (*al-dhikr maᶜa wujūd al-yaqẓa*), which is the attribute (situation) of intelligent people (*al-ᶜuqalā'*). It is the hope that the *dhikr* with consciousness will be elevated to the *dhikr* with presence of the heart (*al-dhikr maᶜa wujūd al-ḥuḍūr)* and this is the attribute of

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[108]Nawawī, Salālim, 104. The word *walī* (pl. *awliyā'*) also means friends of God. Further discussion on *wilāyah* see H. Landolt, " *Walāyah*" in Encyclopaedian of Religion vol. 15 ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987).

[109]Nawawī, Salālim, 104. Elsewhere Nawawī indicates that this verse is interpreted differently. He quotes more than 20 opinions by referring to Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Qādir (Jīlānī ?). See also Nawawī, Tanqīh al-Qawl, 34-35.

[110]Nawawī, Salālim, 104. In Tanqīh al-Qawl, 35, he seems to indicate that *dhikr* is the first step in the way of love by referring to the prophetic tradition which says that the sign of loving God is to love to remember God and the sign of disliking God is disliking His remembrance.

the *ᶜulamā'*. Maybe the *dhikr* with the presence [of the heart] will rise to the level of *dhikr* with the absence of anything other than God (*al-dhikr maᶜa wujūd al-ghayba ᶜammā siwā Allāh*) which is the rank of the truthful gnostics among the friends of God (*al-ārifīn al-muḥaqqiqīn min al-awliyā'*) . At this station the *dhikr* with the tongue ends with the slave becoming aware of the existence of direct vision (*ṣahwan fī wujūd al-ᶜiyān*).[111]

Nawawī quotes from his teacher Yūsuf Sumbulāwīnī that Abū al-ᶜAbbās ibn al-Bannā said that the best kind of *dhikr* is what comes to the heart from God. This is known as *dhikr khafī*.[112] In Sufi tradition, this type of *dhikr* builds up continuously and one is cautioned to develop the capacity to be able to keep this as a 'secret'. One should not reveal what happens inside one's heart verbally as outsiders will consider what one tells them as nonsense (*laghw*) and disobedience (*maᶜṣiya*).

2. 4. *Mahamma* (important note).

Under this heading al-Malībarī states that most of the gnostics agree that the best obedience is guarding one's breath reciting the word "*Allāh*" when the breath comes in and out, whether one is in a gathering or alone. He also alludes to specific *dhikr* practices such

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[111]Nawawī, Salālim, 104 - 105. Probably the latter dhikr is similar to *dhikr* of the 'inmost being' (*sirr*), as the third stage of *dhikr* mentioned by L. Gardet where the whole being of the Sufi becomes a tongue uttering the *dhikr*. See L. Gardet "*Dhikr*" in E.I., 225. Literally *ṣaḥw* means to become clear, to regain consciousness. See Hans Wehr, Arabic English Dictionary, 505. The term sobriety (*ṣahw*) means the attainment of the goal. See Hujwīrī, Kashf al-Mahjūb, trans Nicholson, 185,187. Hujwīrī defines *ṣaḥw* as "sobriety [which] is the vision of subsistence while the attributes are annihilated; and this is actual revelation." A. Schimmel writes that the *Naqshabandī* teaches that "the end of *dhikr* without words is contemplation (*mushāhada*) in which subject and object are, eventually, indiscernible. True *dhikr* is that you forget your *dhikr*. " See A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, 172.

[112]Nawawī, Salālim, 105. Perhaps this is another meaning of *dhikr khafī* (meaning *maᶜrifa*?) M. A. Rabb observes that *maᶜrifa* according to Abū Yazīd, seems to be imposed on the *ᶜārif* by God. See M. A. Rabb, Persian Mysticism, 131.

as moving the head below and above, to the *dhikr* of the phrase *lā ilāha illā Allāh* and to the "silent *dhikr*" or *dhikr khafī*.[113]

Nawawī begins his commentary on the section by informing us that these verses are taken from Shaykh al-ᶜAydarūs ᶜAbd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr, who said that most of the gnostics (*ᶜārifīn*) are in agreement that the best obedience is to control one's breath (*ḥifẓ al-anfās*) so that when inhaling or exhaling one pronounces the name "Allāh", and this either as part of a group or alone; "for this is the key to the unseen world." Thus it is necessary for the disciple to recite the *dhikr* with complete strength [being filled with it] until there is no more space left. When the seeker invokes God with a strong will, the way is made easy for him and he can reach his goal in shorter time. Nawawī following Shaᶜrānī bases his elaborations on the Qur'ānic verse 2:74 "then, even after that, your hearts were hardened and became as rocks, or worse than rocks, for hardness."[114] The stone (rock) does not break easily, so the *dhikr* does not affect the heart unless it is strong.[115]

In commenting on verse 174 which alludes to specific *dhikr*-practices Nawawī refers to Aḥmad al-Junaydī al-Maymūnī who says that he starts the word 'Allāh' and the remaining of God's names from his navel to his heart, and to Shaᶜrānī who says that he trembles from his head to his toes. Nawawī further explains that the phrase *ṣifatun lahu maᶜa barzakh*[116] has two meanings, first that one invokes the word Allāh with the tongue

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[113]Al-Malībarī, Hidāyat, verses 172-175.

[114]Pickthall, The Meaning, 39.

[115]Nawawī, Salālim, 106f. A.Schimmel writes that "*dhikr* in its developed forms is usually connected with some sort of breath control; Sahl expressed the idea that the breaths are counted; every breath that goes out without remembering Him is dead, but every breath that goes out in recollecting the Lord is alive and is connected with Him." See A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, 173. According to Trimingham "the Sufi found rhythmic breathing in *dhikr* as a particular method of glorifying God by repeating His name constantly and also as a means of excluding distractions and of drawing near to God." Elsewhere he quotes Abū Yazīd who says that for gnostics, worship is observance of the breaths. Trimingham, Sufi Orders, 194-195. Further, on p. 203 he explains the principles of *Naqshbandī dhikr* and states that as the external basis of this *ṭarīqa* is the breath, one must not exhale or inhale in forgetfulness.

[116]Hidāyat, verse 174. In fact this phrase is somewhat unclear.

and with sincerety towards the Almighty while placing the image of the Shaykh in one's heart; the second meaning is that the way to do the *dhikr* is to be with the Shaykh so that its performance does not exceed the teaching of the Shaykh without his permission or guidance.[117] In any case, Nawawī emphasizes the importance of the function of the Shaykh as the intermediary (*barzakh=wāṣiṭa*) between the servant and God and the Shaykh's role in giving guidance to his disciple. To this effect he quotes a famous saying which states that whoever does not have a Shaykh has the devil as his Shaykh. Nawawī further tells us the details of how to practice the *dhikr* (i.e. the technicalities of performing the *dhikr*) and the *ādāb* of *dhikr*. From his description, it appears that he prefers a *dhikr* with three movements of the head: moving the head upwards and to the right side while pronouncing *lā*, moving it towards the breast with *ilāha*, and to the heart with *illā Allāh*. According to Nawawī, these modalities are required in order for the noble phrase (*al-kalima al-musharrafa*) to pass through the five *laṭāif* which are: 1) *laṭīfa al-qalb*; 2)*laṭīfa al-rūḥ*; 3)*laṭīfa al-sirr*; 4)*laṭīfa al-khafī*; and 5)*laṭīfa al-akhfā*. As a result, one's heart will be able to achieve the desired aim of the *dhikr* and will itself finally become the *dhākir*, so that one will be able to listen to it.[118]

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[117]Nawawī, Salālim, 107.

[118]Ibid., 108. This could be a variant of a Kubrawī or Naqshbandī *dhikr*. For more details see Trimingham, Sufi Orders, 202-205. See Hermann A. Landolt, Le Révélateur, 43-48 .For the *laṭā'if* see. H. Landolt pp. 41, 54-68. According to Isfarāyīnī there are three parts to performing the *dhikr*: "First part: to sit cross-legged, putting the right leg on the left leg, the left hand on the right leg and the right hand on the left hand, facing the direction of *qibla*. To have the 'shape' of the Shaykh in front, because his heart is linked in the same way to his Shaykhs', and so on until the Prophet and to God Himself...To imagine one's material form as a corpse.... To extract the totality of veils, that is, the 'suggested ideas' (*khawāṭir*), from the navel, by [saying] respectfully but energetically the phrase *lā ilāha illā Allāh*, until the back and the nape are straight. To stop for a while, with a pause of the action and not of the tongue. Second part: to bring the left shoulder with the head and and the nape towards the right shoulder and to throw the totality of *khawāṭir* and veils as well as one's dead material existence behind the back, by the force of *lā ilāha illā Allāh* and by the force of the *walāyat* of the Shaykh. Up to this stage, it is necessary to maintain the image of the Shaykh, but after, it is necessary to abandon it in order to concentrate on the image of the Reality (God). Third part: to push the right shoulder with force towards the heart while [saying] respectfully but energetically the *dhikr Allāh* with force (energy) and in enunciating the *alif* of *Allāh* with the repulsion of the *khawāṭir*. If the *khawāṭir* dominates one's self then the *dhikr* should be started again from the

Regarding *dhikr khafī*, Nawawī describes it as reciting the phrase *lā ilāha illā Allāh* without moving the lips. While quoting *ḥadīth* in favour of both silent and loud *dhikr*, he mentions that al-Shaᶜrānī points to the benefits of performing the *dhikr* in a group in the mosque when it can be done without hypocrisy or disturbing other people's prayers.[119] Similarly he refers to al-Ghazālī as one who preferred the *dhikr* in a group since it has more effect,[120] and to Shaykh Ibrāhim al-Matbūlī who suggests that one should raise one's voice when practicing the *dhikr* until one achieves the condition of concentration (*al-jamᶜiyya*) as is the case with gnostics (*al-ᶜārifūn*). He adds that the *shāriḥ,* [121]says that according to the Shaykhs it is necessary for the beginner to raise his voice in *dhikr* until the barrier (*ḥijāb*) is broken. When the *murīd* becomes strong in his *dhikr*, he no longer needs to recite in a high voice.[122]

From the above, it seems that Nawawī prefers *dhikr jalī* (with loud voice) to *dhikr khafī* (with silent voice), at least for the beginner. However, he certainly does not deny the advantages of *dhikr khafī* . In another work Nawawī refers to the *ḥadīth* which says that silent *dhikr* is better than loud *dhikr* because it is safe from ostentation especially for those Sufis at an advanced stage in their journey, but that in the beginning stage loud *dhikr* is better (more useful). Nawawī refers to the Prophet who used to order every individual to do what is best and more useful for his particular state.[123]

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beginning." See Nūr al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān-i Isfarāyinī, Le Révélateur des mystères (kāshif al-asrār), 44-45.

[119]Nawawī, Salālim, 107. However, cf. Salālim 115f. where the same authority is quoted as favouring silent *dhikr*.

[120]Ibid., 107. Nawawī also explains that the phrase *lā ilāha illā Allāh* heals the heart of its spiritual illnesses and cures the sins and heedlessness. See Nawawī, Tanqīh al-Qawl, 36.

[121]See explanation on p. 57 of this chapter.

[122]Nawawī, Salālim, 108.

[123]Nawawī, Tanqīh al-Qawl, 36.

The last two sections (*tadhkira* and *mahamma*) deal with subjects that are exclusively relevant to the *ᶜārif.* Although clearly not everyone who does the practices described in these sections has achieved the degree of an *ᶜārif,* [124] the practices and experiences involved in *dhikr, murāqaba* and *mushāhada* are part of *taṣawwuf,* are part of the process of purifying the heart and attaining gnostic knowledge. Therefore Nawawī's concept of the three levels of Muslim believers is not directly relevant to these sections. In terms of the relation between outward practice and inner state, the practice of *dhikr* begins "outwardly"--not only the loud *dhikr* of the tongue, but also the *dhikr* of silent internal repetition. However, as the *dhikr* progresses and takes root in the heart it becomes an inner reality, a spiritual state which is experienced by the *ᶜārif.* This point is again emphasized in the very last verses of Malībarī's poem (verses 181-186), on *mushāhada* according to Suhrawardī, which Nawawī explains by citing the relevant passage from the *ᶜAwārif* (chapter 27) [=*ᶜAwārif* p. 216f.] as well as a short passage from Shaᶜrānī.

C. Conclusion.

In the work studied in this thesis, *Salālim al-Fuḍalā'*, Nawawī repeats a great deal of material from other Sufi writers and thus it is difficult for us to distinguish his own mystical thought from that of other authorities. However, by analyzing certain themes in his commentary, and in his selection and placement of material we can draw the following conclusions:

From the overall explanations given by Nawawī in referring to classical Sufi texts and authorities, there is no doubt that he was strongly influenced by the classical tradition of Islamic Sufism and not Sufism as it came to Indonesia, let alone the pre-Islamic concepts of the Indonesian people of his time. This is probably due to his educational background and his lifestyle and experiences during his residence in Mekka.

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[124] For example on p. 84-85 of this chapter Nawawī describes the experience of the beginner as he attempts to practice *dhikr.*

The concept of three levels of Muslim believers, which is taken originally from al-Malībarī, seems to dominate Nawawī's perspective in his commentary on the overall themes of *Salālim* . This concept is related to other themes as well, particularly the relation between outer practice and inner experience, and also the different types of knowledge: outer (the knowledge of religious sciences) and inner (the direct knowledge of gnosis which is gained through *dhikr, murāqaba* and *mushāhada*). The *ᶜābid* reaches the higher stages of *ᶜālim* and *ᶜārif* by the acquisition of outer and inner knowledge respectively.

Nawawī's approach to his sources reveals his wide range of exposure to and comprehension of Sufism; however, in some cases it is not clear whether or not he is depending on the [first] commentary on *Hidāyat* , i. e. *Maslak al-Atqiyā' wa Minhaj al-Aṣfiyā'* by the poet's son.[125]

Nawawī' defines *taṣawwuf* to mean *adab,* meaning the *ādāb* which had been learned by observing the Prophet Muḥammad which related to his inner state, actions and sayings. These *ādāb* point towards the path based on the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* and trodden by the Sufi Masters. Nawawī implies that an *ᶜābid,* through studying and *mujāhada,* can improve himself and attain the level of *ᶜālim,* then by achieving the goal of contemplation (*mushāhada*) he can become an *ᶜārif* and can acquire direct access to the knowledge of the unseen. Thus it is important to continue making a stenuous effort in order to raise oneself to a higher position.

Nawawī does not indicate whether the nine *waṣāyā* represent hierarchical stages; however, he says that *tawba* is the key to all worship and the basis for all good things. This could mean that after *tawba* one can improve one's spiritual state through practicing the nine *waṣāyā.* Nawawī's concept of knowledge is an interesting one, since he implies that practicing *sunna* without knowledge will not gain much reward. Furthermore he also implies that even people with religious knowledge are empty without achieving spiritual

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[125]See this chapter p. 56-57.

progress. Finally, Nawawī considers *dhikr*, at whatever stage one performs it, as the shortest way towards God the Almighty. Nawawī interprets the meaning of *dhikr khafī*, firstly as silent *dhikr*, and secondly as the best kind of *dhikr*, as it comes to the heart from God.

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